

LOYAL SVBIECTS LOOKING-GLASSE,

Or

A good subjects Direction, necessary
and requisite for every good Christian,
living within any ciuill regiment or politique state, to
view, behold, and examine himselfe in, that he may the better
frame the course of his life, according to the true grounds of the
duties of an honest and obedient subject to his King, and to arise
himselfe against all future Syren songs and alluring insi-
ments of subtile, disloyall, dissembling, and craftie
conspirators, traitors, and rebels.

Collected for the most part out of both olde and
later writers, whose names are in the next
page let downe.

Wherevnto are brieflie added fixe
speciall causes of vndutifull sub-
jects disloyaltie.

By WILLIAM WILLYMAY.



AT LONDON

Printed by G. Elds for Roberts Bawson, and are to be
found at his shop in Chancery Lane and where he dwelleth.

*The names of the Authors out of
which this present Treatise hath for the
most part bene collected.*

*Augustine.
Ambrose.
Theophilacti.
Caluine.
Musculus.
Marlorate.
Hyperius.
Hemingius.
Piscator.*

Iacobus Rex.

*Bullinger.
Bucer.
Cornelius.
Luther.
Vrsinus.
M.H. Latimer.
Perkinsus.
Turnbull.*



AT LONDON

To the right vertuous, excellent,
and most High and Noble Prince

HENRIE, by the grace of God Prince of Wales,
Duke of Cornewell, Earle of Chester, and heire ap-
parant to the Realmes of England, Scotland,
France and Ireland, &c.



HE late gracious
acceptance, most
worthy yong Prince
(with so prompt &
welwilling hand, so
amiable and plea-
sant a countenance,
and so kinde and
courteous words,)
of those mine hastie
and bold attempted
labours, in transla-
ting into Latin and
English verse the

seuerall Precepts and Instructions of our dread Soueraigne
your Fathers Maiesties ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΕΛΤΟΝ, for your owne
sake, and vnto your owne selfe by him so Christianly, fatherly,
painfully and learnedly first penned: that Princes Looking-
glasse, or Princes direction, (for that title or inscription I then
thought best besitting such an argument) so benignly accep-
ted of, hath animated and encouraged me once againe, to pub-
lish vnder your Graces Patrocinie, an other Looking-glasse, to
wit, this present Loyall Subiects Looking-glasse, or a good
subiects Direction, a treatise I suppose in these our last dayes and
perillous times, very requisite and necessarie for all Christian
subiects, like as was the other for a Christian Prince. A fault
I confesse is by me here committed, by this my second so bold an
enterprise, but yet Prius perspecta clementia, & lenitate tua
fretus, in good hope you will beare with my wants and imperfec-
tions, and accept and respect mine heart, and plaine simple well

meaning

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

meaning will, and rather posse the quantitie of mine affection and zeale to do good, (according to the gaine of that one poore talent that the Lord God hath committed unto me,) then the qualitie of mine offence, I haue aduentured towards the helpe and instruction of the rude and ignorant sort of subiects, who want both good bookes and good teachers, to publish this my sillie Treatise befitting silly subiects, least through ignorance of their duties in true allegiance, they might the sooner be seduced, deceined, and withdrawne from giuing unto Cæsar that which is Cæsars. Simple and plaine indeed is this my worke, I must simply confesse, but yet an instrument of mine inward good affection, and a faithfull witnessing messenger before both God and man, of my well-willing and well-meaning heart, *Qui si non potui maxima parua dedi.* And if your Grace (according to your former clemencie) shall happily vouchsafe it that good successe as to come abroade to the view of the world under the wings of your benigne defence and fauourable protection, then I doubt not but of the better sort it shall be the better accepted, and also from the nipping cancred Cater-pillers the more freely escape vntaunted, whose naturall inclination is rather to prie at the moates in other mens eyes, and to carpe and finde faults with other mens dooings, then to respect and perceine beames in their owne eyes, or endeuour to profit Gods Church and their country with any their owne better labours. The euer-living God for his annointed Christ Iesus his sake, graunt you his eternall fauour, grace, and blessing, long and many happy yeares, with your owne hearts desired felicitie, to the aduancement of Gods honour and glory, to the ioye and comfort of all good faithfull Christian hearts, to the terror of all your, and our forreigne enemies, and home-borne conspirators, and to the happy conuersion or utter confusion of the publique and priuate aduersaries of Gods eternall truth.

Your Graces most loyall and
dayly humble Orator :

WILLIAM WILLYMAT.

To the Christian Reader.



Great, sundrie, and manifold (good Christian Reader) are the enormities, inconueniences, and mischiefs, which the lack of the right vse of Gods most sacred word, and the diligent care to be gouerned and ouer-ruled by the same, do bring, breede, and engender among mortall men. O subtil serpent, & deceiptfull and too diligent Sathan, euermore and euery where prying, seeking, and hunting like an hungrie and roaring Lyon for thy pray, when irreligious *Machewillians* apt schollers of that Italian bel-hound, desperate carelesse Atheists, obstinate dissembling corner-creeping Papists, temporizing carnall and verball Protestants, brainfick, heady, and male-contented Puritanes, and such other like right borne children of this world, haue once cast of the care, the knowledge, the vse and practise of that true lightsome Lanterne of Gods word, which should haue serued to guide their actions, and giuen light vnto their feete, whereby they might haue troden in the right pathes of all goodnesse, how busie, diligent, and readie art thou then with thy legions of reprobate Angels, to stuffe and possesse, the blinde, ignorant, obstinate, wilfull, rebellious, male-contented hearts, and busie braines of such men, with ambition, enuie, malice, heart burning, discontentment of minde, murmurings and grudgings, dislike and contempt of the most Christian, and best gouernment, as not fitting nor agreeing with their humors. flandering, euill speaking, and back-biting, such as

are in lawfull authoritie, conspiracie, treason, sediti-
on, rebellion, and infinite other mischiefes, too ma-
ny and too tedious here to recite. How true this is,
as at sundrie other times heretofore, so also now hath
it proued it selfe by these last discoueries of some of
our English disloyall, vnnaturall and traiterous plot-
ting practises and conspiracies. The buildings, and
very foundations whereof, the close and cunning
conueying whereof, yea though it were in the very
fruite of a tree, the mightie Lord God our onely
buckler, shield and sure fortresse, according to his
former accustomed goodnesse and mercifull dea-
lings (in our late *Queene Elizabeths* raigne) hath
vnto vs, reueiled, and detected, yea dissipated, frust-
rated, & viterly confounded, he for his holy names
sake worke in our hearts vnfeined thankfulness for
the same . Now for as much as God hath appoynt-
ed admonitions and exhortations to encounter
temptations, least perhaps the deuill that old experi-
enced and thoroughly practised enemy of mankind,
the chiefest author of these and all other such wick-
ed and abominable attempts should againe sug-
gest and ingest the like lewde motions into the
hearts of any mo, either forrein malignant supplan-
ters, or homeborne malicious, ambitious, and male-
contented conspirators, I haue here endeououred
my selfe to set forth for an admonition or warning
before the eyes of all such as haue not consented nor
yeelded to any such wicked and diuillish enterprises
of treasons and conspiracies, this present treatise fol-
lowing, *A loyall subjects Looking-glasse*, or a good sub-
jects direction, wherein euery true hearted & good
meaning,

To the Christian Reader.

meaning, yea and euery waucering minded, vnstable
and simple ignorant subiect may behold, see, and
learne how to behaue himfelfe, and dutifully to liue
vnder the gouernment of higher powers, whether
they be fupreame Magistrates, Emperours, Kings
and Princes, or elfe interior subordinate magistrates
and officers, adhibited by the higher powers to the
adminiftration of things for the gouernment of the
common-wealth. Herein I haue laboured to fet be-
fore the eyes and hearts of all forts of fubieets, what
duties they owe, and are bounden by the plaine and
exprefle word of God, to performe to their fuperi-
ours, of what degree or place fo euer: A treatife I
fuppofe very requifite and neceffary for thefe our
enuious, malicious, ambitious, felf-louing, felf-willie
proud and rebellious dayes. Thofe good & learned
authors both olde and of later times, whom I haue
principally leaned vnto as my chiefe guides, directors
and good maifters, in the penning of this prefent
Looking-glasse, yee may fee fet downe by their feue-
rall names before the epiftle dedicatory. I haue here-
in followed the maner of thofe Cookes which com-
ming into Gardens to gather herbes, caft their eyes
round about them, and looke vpon all, and crop and
take but thofe only which are moft conuenient and
needfull for their vfe and purpofe at that time:
Likewife haue I chofen & excerpted out of the fore-
named writers, but thofe things only which I thoght
would ferue beft, and moft conueniently befit this
prefent matter and time, and them for the helpe
of the memorie of the readers, and for the readie
finding out, and fpeedy turning vnto any feuerall

To the Christian Reader.

point or matter herein entreated of, I haue digested
into seuerall chapters, according vnto the seuerall
duties which are due vnto Magistrates set in autho-
ritie. I am not ashamed to yeeld and plainly to con-
fesse, that I haue collected this present treatise, for
the most part thereof (though not all) out of the
drift, sence and meaning, yea and now and then the
very words of other mens writings, for I deeme it a
founder, a surer, and a safer course, to walke in the
pathes and tread in the steps of former learned and
allowed writers, that so I might alwayes haue suffi-
cient authoritie for mine opinions and allegations,
then to range at randon in writing, and setting a-
broach mine owne inuentions, seeing that, *Nihil iam
dicti potest quod non sit dictum prius.* I weigh not, and
I passe not for the virulent and malicious cauels, of
neuer pleased *Momus*-like enuious back-biters, so
that by my labours I may do any good, or be an in-
strument to helpe to auoide any euill in this Church
and common-wealth wherein I liue: which happie
successe that this my present treatise may haue, I
pray thee gentle reader helpe me with thy zealous
prayers to the Almighty, the onely giuer of
all good gifts, to whom only be all worthy
honor, praise and dominion for
euer and euer.

(.)

The chiefe and principall matters contained in the first sixe chapters of this Booke following.

In the first Chapter is contained.

- W**Hat Emperours, Kings, Princes, &c. are : by whom they were
and are ordeined, and wherefore. page 3. & 4.
- Of and from whom tyrants and euill Kings and Princes are : and
wherefore such are exalted. pag. 4.
- Obedience the first thing due vnto *Cesar*, belongeth vnto all higher
powers, kings and principalities, yea although tyrannicall and euill
gouernours. pag. 5. 6.
- Arguments & reasons to perswade vnto obedience to magistrats. *Idē.*
Magistrates called Gods. idem.
- Of the deformities, and vgliness of rebellion, thereby to dissuade from
the same. 6.
- The horrible finnes & mischiefes that range & raigne in rebellio. *Idē.*
Commodities of obedience and peace. 7.
- To what end good examples of obedience do chieflie serue. 8.
- What v'e is chieflie to be made by the examples of euill and rebellious
subiects. idem.
- Examples of two of the best and most obedient faithfull subiects, most
worthy to be imitated. 8. 9. 10.
- Example of *Dauids* behaviour towards king *Saul*, what it doth teach. 9.
- A question concerning obedience resolved. 11.
- What it is for a subiect to foster and cherish an euill thought in his
heart against his Scueraigne. 12.
- What is to be done when a man is entised or drawne by any kinde of
meanes to yeeld to treason. 14.
- Treason and treacherous plottings, and practises are not to be hid nor
conceiled for any mans sake whosoever he be. idem.
- Delay is dangerous in hiding fire or treason. 15.
- Examples of *Absolon* and of diuers other traitors, and of their bad suc-
cesse and confusion. 15. 16. 17.
- Learn to take warning by other mens fallers. 18.
- Diuers manners of punishments of traitors & disloyall subiects. 18. 19
- Cyprian* his bridle against going on and continuing in finnes. 20
- The last argument or reason to mooue to obedience, drawing from
Beasts, Birdes, Fishes, &c. 21.

In the second Chapter is contained.

- H**ow necessarie and profitable a thing feare is. pag. 22.
- To feare the king, commanded in holy Scriptures. idem.
- Two kinds of feare. 23.

The

The principall matters

- The profits of good feare. pag. 23.
 The nature of the good and child-like feare, explicated by two apte
 similitudes. 24.
 The vertues or effects of the good feare, expressed by the effects of the
 feare of a Scholler towards his Scholemaister. Idem.
 Diuers & sundry effects of feare of a subiect towards his soueraine. ide.
 How primate men are to behaue themselves towards such as be in au-
 thoritie, though they be neuer so bad and equill disposed. 26
 Feare, though it be a very necessarie thing to be yielded vnto the high-
 er powers and Magistrats, yet may it be abused: and of the first abuse
 of this feare. 28.
 Of the second kinde of feare. 29.
 The vse and profit of seruile feare. 30.

In the third Chapter is contained.

- **H**onour, the third thing belonging to *Cesar*, what it signifieth 31.
 The actions of honouring are manifold, and wherein they doe
 consist. ibidem.
 The first kind of honour due to Magistrats. ibidem.
 The second kinde of honour due to Magistrats. 32.
 The third honour due to superiours. ibid.
 The fourth honour due to superiours. ibid.
 The beginnings of all conspiracies, &c. arise for the most part from the
 heart, that beginneth to fall away frō honoring the higher powers. 33

In the fourth Chapter is contained.

- P**raye the fourth thing belonging to *Cesar* commanding subiects
 in holy scriptures. page 33.
 What things especially are to be prayed for in the behalfe of kings,
 Princes, &c. 34.
 What kinde of kings & rulers God commanded to be praied for. ibid.
 What it is not to pray for kings, &c. 35.

In the fift Chapter is contained.

- T**ribute, taxes, subsidies, and other such like royall customes, the fift
 thing due vnto *Cesar*. 36.
 The causes for which subsidies, taxes, &c. are greuous and odious a-
 mong the common people. ibidem.
 Tributes, subsidies, taxes, &c. amongst all nations of old, haue beene
 vsually payed, and wherefore. 37.
Theophilactus and *Bucer* their opinions for payment of tribute, taxes,
 &c. 38.
 The onely helpe and lawfull remedie for not payment of Subsidies,
 taxes, &c. ibidem.
 Diuers causes wherefore tribute, subsidies, taxes, &c. are to be paid. 39.
 Diuers

contained in this Booke.

Diuers great benefits and blessings which subiects receive by their kings, rulers, &c. 40.

How kings may both take and employ tributes, taxes, subsidies, and such like customes. 41.

Lessons necessary for kings, Princes, &c. to obserue, note, and practise concerning the exacting of impositions, taxes, &c. ibid.

Lessons necessary for the common people and subiects to obserue, note, and practise, concerning their behauiour and conceits against kings, Princes, &c. for lifting and demanding of subsidies, taxes, &c. ibid.

A necessary question concerning such subiects as being of wealth and substance, will seeke and practise false and lying shifts and euasions, to escape, or to diminish their right and due payments of taxes, subsidies, &c. partly by defrauding the king, and partly by oppressing and wringing their poore neighbours: and the answer therevnto. 41. 42.

Doctor *Martin Luther* his opinion concerning the subiects dutie, if kings, princes, &c. shall happen to impose and exact any greivous & overchargeable taxes, subsidies, or other customes & payments. 43.

And also *S Ambrose* his opinion, and likewise king *James* his opinion in the same case. 45.

Of mutuall loue and agreement betwene Prince and people, and of the good thereof. 46.

King *James* his Maiesties most louing, Christian and excellent counsaile to his sonne Prince *Henry*, concerning lifting of subsidies, &c. ibid.

In the sixth Chapter is contained,

PRivate men may not intermeddle nor take vpon them the office of a Magistrate without some lawfull calling therevnto. pag. 47.

The people of euery kingdome, countrie, or city, deuided into 3. sorts. ibid.

Two things especially to be considered in the first dutie of subiects vnto Cesar. 48.

The reuenge of any iniurie to whom it properlie belongeth. ibid.

The fixe causes of vndutifulnesse of subiects added and briefly entreated of, in the end of this loyall subiects Looking-glasse.	1	Pride.
	2	Ambition.
	3	Enuie.
	4	Lack of wisdom and knowledge.
	5	Discontentment of minde.
	6	Mistaking and inueighing against the punishment of malefactors.

The aforesaid fixe causes of subiects vndutifulnesse contained in these vi. verses following.

*The cause why subiects duties faile, vho lists to haue describe,
Let him giue eare, and marke a while, the first cause it is Pride:
The second is Ambition: Enuie the third place will haue,
The fourth is want of knowledge sure, & want of wisdom graue,
The fift cause vho desires to know, is minds discontentment,
The sixth is the vniust dislike of lewd mens punishment.*

**The chiefe and principall matters contained in the 6. causes
of subiects vndutifulnes, added in the end of
this treatise.**

- A**S Sathan of a glorious Angell, through Pride became an vglie de-
uill, forsaking his loyaltie to God, so the same Sathan by the
same pride, dayly tempteth man to fall away from loyaltie to
higher powers ordeined of God for mans good. pag. 50.
Pride wherein it consisteth. 51.
Honourable houses and great men in the vworld, through pride haue
wrought their owne vtter confusion. 51.
The deuils craft and subtiltie to insnare men through pride, & to bring
them thereby to treason, conspiracie and rebellion. ibid.
Of Ambition the second cause of the vndutifulnesse of subiects, & here
what ambition is, and who are said and nored to be ambitiou. 52.
Notable examples of ambitious mens falles and of the manifold most
notorious mischiefes and inconueniences that many haue fallen
into through ambition. 54.
Of Enuie the third cause of subiects vndutifulnesse: from whence En-
uie springeth, and of the frutes thereof. 55.
Diuers similitudes describing the nature of Enuie. ibid.
None neuer so vertuous escape the virulent and slanderous nippings of
the enuious erue. 56.
Of want of wisedome and knowledge, the fourth cause of subiects vn-
dutifulnesse. 58.
The great inconueniences that fall out through want of wisedom and
knowledge in vndiscreet subiects. idem.
Princes purposes, pollicies & proceedings, not yet published & knowne
abroade, are not to be condemned and misconstrued. 58.
Of discontentednesse of minde, the fift cause of subiects vndutiful-
nesse. 60.
Two sortes of subiects especially troubled with discontentment of
minde, &c. idem.
The wicked nature and vngodly, vndutifull and disloyall positions, and
euill corrupting words of desperate godlesse Atheists, prodigall ipen-
dals, and roysting caualliers, bewraying their contempt of God, and
vndutifulnesse to higher powers and magistracie. 60 & 61.
Counsaile and directions for vnthrists and wast. alles to take another
course. 62.
Misliking of due & deserued punishment of malefactors, the sixt cause
of the vndutifulnesse of subiects, and of their error therein. idem.
Aduise, counsaile, and necessarie directions for busie mislikers and vn-
discreete inueighers, against the punishment of euill doers, &c. 63. 64.

A loyall

Fol. x.

A loyall Subjects Looking-glasse.

The Preface.



Most Christian King, a most sincere professor, and defender of Gods eternall truth, yet at this day liuing, (and *J. Rex. in his treatise of the true law of free Monarchies.* maugre the heads of the most subtil suggesting serpent, and all his wicked, traiterous, and rebellious imps, long may he liue) hath written, that *next the knowledge of God, the right knowledge of subiects alleageance according to the forme of government established among them, is a thing most necessarie to be knowne.* The ignorance hereof, or *The effects of the ignorance or contempt of the right knowledge of subiects alleageance.* (that which is worffe) the retchlesse and wilfull contempt hereof hath bread the heauie calamities, the endlesse troubles, and the most miserable wreacke and ouerthrow of sundrie flourishing common-wealths, and also the worthily deserved fall and confusion of the state, lands, goods, lifes and bloud of many disloyall, infatuated, maliciously giuen, malcontented, ambitious, traiterous conspiratours, and rebels, in many heretofore flourishing common-wealths, kingdomes, and monarchies. Examples hereof, and that diuers within the kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, are yet greener, fresher, and more common, both in the hearts and mouthes of thousands yet liuing, who haue beene both eyed and eared witnesses of the same, then that they can easilie be forgotten. Least therefore any other subiects now liuing, or their posteritie, or any other generation yet vnborne, should be hereafter trapped in the like snares, and so become subiect to the like confusions, (the naturall zeale that I beare to my natieue countrie, and the great grieve I haue to heare and see my poore country-men, either so ignorant, or so carelesse of true loyall subiects duties, me therevnto speciall moouing) I haue heere done mine endeuoure to set downe in this present treatise, the true grounds of the most speciall duties, which

The speciall causes that mooued the author to write this present treatise.

C

naturall

Magistrats
and gouer-
nours are
of two
forts.

naturall subiectes are found to performe to higher powers, whether they be supream Maiestrates, as Emperors, Kings, and Princes, Gods owne lieutenants, vicegerents, and deputies, or whether they be their subordinate magistrats and inferior officers, which also in their degrees and places are the ordinance of God, for the good gouernment of men, that vnder them they might lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlinesse and honestie.

From
whence
the grounds
of this pre-
sent trea-
tise are
drawne.

What is to
be vnder-
standed by
the word
Caesar.

The Ana-
baptists
then neuer
learned of
Christ to
disallowe
Magistracy.

Six things
especially
due vnto
Caesar.

The grounds of this present treatise, or *Loyall subiects looking-glasse* (for so not incongruently I haue entituled it in the beginning) I purpose through Gods assistance to draw out of the words of Christ Iesus his owne mouth, which I haue thought not impertinent here to insert. *Give vnto Caesar the things which are Caesars.* By the which word *Caesar*, (for so were the Romane Emperours called, like as the Kings of Egypt were alwayes called *Pharaos*) is not onely to be vnderstood the person of the Emperour *Tiberius Caesar* then reigning and ruling, but also euery other Emperour, King, Prince, and ciuill Magistrate, temporall ruler, worldly gouernour, or officer whatsoeuer. Moreouer by these words of our Sauour Christ, it is further to be vnderstanded and learned, that he misliked not, nor condemned, but approoued, allowed and confirmed all ciuill regiment, politique state, and order with all things that to it appertaine.

Now for the things which are *Caesars*, that is for all duties which subiects doe owe and ought to performe to all their superiour gouernours and magistrats, that is the matter which I haue here specially to deale with, that is the marke which I haue chieflie to shoote at, and those things by diligent reading, searching, and obseruing of learned authors, both diuine and prophane, I finde to be especially sixe, to wit:

1. Obedience.
2. Feare.
3. Honor.
4. Prayer.
5. Tribute, taxes, subsidies, &c.

6. Not

6. Not rashlie to take in hand (or intermeddle) with any part of Magistrates office without a lawfull calling.

Which said sixe duties of subiects due vnto their *Cesar*, I haue comprehended in these verses following.

Sixe things by right are vnto Caesar due,

1. Obedience first vnto his iust decrees,

2. Next feare infixt in hearts of subiects true,

3. The third is honour due from all degrees,

4. The fourth for happie state of Prince to pray,

That God with peace may still his life prolong:

5. And fiftly tribute willingly to paye,

Whereby his wealth may daily growe more strong,

6. The sixt that none presume for glories sake,

Vncalke the parts of Magistrates to take.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Obedience, the first dutie of a loyall subiect.



ALL Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other supream Powers, and Magistrats, of what names or titles so euer, according to the fashions, and custome of all nations, and languages, that dwell in all the world, are Gods Vizeroyes, Vizegerents Lieutenants and Deputies here on earth, and all subordinate and inferiour Maiestrates and Gouvernours, hauing their commission out of their principall commissions, though but *durante beneplacito*, at the will and pleasure of the higher power, yet for their time they are also ordained and appointed of God: All such both supreme and inferiour ciuill Magistrates are ministers armed both with lawes and sword, to be nursers to Gods Church or people, and Fathers to the common-wealth, to guide, gouerne and order the people within their seuerall circuites and charges, whose hearts are in the Lords hands, and the Lords sword in their hands, to execute iustice and discipline, as well in Ec-

Wherefore
magistrates
were or-
dained.

By whom the higher powers are ordeined. **Pro. 8. 15.** *Give care yee that rule the multitudes, and glorie in the multitude of the people, for the rule is given you of the Lord, and power by the most high: Wisd. 6. 23.* So the Prophet **Daniel** speaketh of God saying: *He taketh away Kings, and setteth up Kings.* **Dan. 2. 25.** Yea more cleare is it then light it selfe, that not onely good Emperours, Kings, and Princes, are of God: but also very tyrants and the worst Kings, and Princes, be they neuer so great an euill, be they neuer so great a plague to their owne subiects, or to their neighbour nations.

Tyrants & bad Kings are also set vp and ordeined of God, and wherefore. Good Kings are giuen of God in his great mercie, and euill Kings in his wrath and iustice: for the finnes of the people he giueth an euill king in his anger, *Hoseas. 13. 11.* for the finnes of the people he suffereth an hypocrite to raigne, *Iob. 34. 30.* Euill Princes are the instruments of Gods iustice, and the executioners of his vengeance, as their very titles declare, for so was *Assur* called the *Rod of Gods Wrath*, *Esa. 10. 5.* So was *Nabuchodonozar* King of *Babel* called *Gods Seruant*, *Ierem. 27. 6.* So did *Attila* that most valiant *Scythian* Prince, conquerour of diuerse countries, kingdomes and nations, call himselfe *Flagellum Dei*; the Scourge of God. So was *Tamberlaine* that cruell tyrant King of *Parthia* called *Ira Dei* and *Terror orbis*; the wrath of God, and the terrour of the world. Vnto these and all such like were they good or bad, among diuers other duties doth God himselfe appoint and commaund euery Christian subiect, of what ranck or degree so euer to yeelde obedience. This is one of those things which our Sauour Christ spake of, when he said, *Give vnto Caesar the things which are Caesars.* Thus saith his chosen vessell **S. Paul**; *Let enery soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be ordeined of God,* **Rom. 13.** Also he writeth vnto **Titus** after this manner; *Put them in remembrance that they be subiect vnto Principalities and powers, and that they be obedient, &c.* **Tit. 3. 1.** Saint Peter also taught

taught by the same spirit, saith; *Submit your selves vnto all manner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as to the superiour, or vnto Governours, as vnto them that are sent of him, for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well: for it is the will of God that by well doeing yee may put to silence the ignorance of the foolish men.* 1. Pet. 2. 13. 14. 15. Diuers and sundrie are the reasons and causes which should mooue and stirre vp Christian loyall subiects to this dutie of obedience, whereof the Apostle *Paul* in the before noted place, *Rom. 13* vseth three seuerall arguments to perswade therevnto. The first drawne from the excellencie or worthinesse of the first author or ordeiner of Magistrates, which was God himselfe; and therefore whatsoever God himselfe first instituted, ordeined and founded, that is most worthy to be embraced, receiued, regarded and obeyed. The second reason he there vseth, is taken from the penaltie and punishment that followeth such as neglect, reiect, and contemne this obedience to the higher powers, and that is iudgement, which is not onely the iudgement of earthly iudges, but also the vengeance of God for their resistance & rebellion against Gods ordinance. The third argument is also drawne from the end; for which Magistrates were ordeined and set vp by God, which is for the praise and good of such as doe well, but on the other side to terrifie and take vengeance on such as doe euill, for the sword is not put into their hands for naught, or to doe nothing therewith.

Three arguments or reasons to perswade to obedience: out of *Rom. 13. 1. 2. 3. &c.*

Two of the very same reasons to induce and perswade to this dutifull obedience vseth the said *S. Peter* in the before alledged place. 1. Pet. 2. 13. Moreouer to mooue subiects the more readily and willingly to yeeld obedience vnto these higher powers, God hath adorned and beautified the state & persons of Magistrates, with most honorable titles, recommending vnto men the dignitie thereof, in that he vouchsaue them sometimes his owne name and stile, as in *Psalm. 82. 6.* *I haue said yee are Gods.* Whence we see then, that men placed in authoritie are called Gods, because they represent his Maiestie in ruling and gouerning his people, this is a rea-

Two arguments or reasons to perswade to obedience: out of 1. Pet. 2. 13, &c. Magistrate called gods as in *Psalm. 82. 6.* and wherefore.

son of no small importance to worke obedience to Magistrates in Gods people, if so be that they be of God indeede. God so honoureth rulers and gouernours, that in token thereof he inuesteth them with his owne name, to teach their subiects that they should obay them as they would do him, to whom that name doth of best right belong.

Of the deformities
& ugliness
of rebellion,
and where-
vnto it is
likened.

Aug. lib. ser.
sermon. 26.

E. N.

In rebellion
is open
and mani-
fest perjury.

In rebellion
is swearing
and blas-
phemie.

In rebellion
is prophane-
ning of the
Sabbath.

To stirre vp and drawe on good subiects the more readie and willingly to obedience, let them view and behold, yea though it be but a little and a farre off, the deformities and ougliness of rebellion, and the hainousnesse of disloyaltie, which may not vnaptly be called *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; An horrible, great, blind, and an ill fauoured monster: which not vnfitly resembleth that confused *Chaos* spoken of by *Hesiodus* the Greeke Poet, and described by *Onid* to be *Congesta eadem non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum*: or most fitly it resembleth euen hell it selfe; as *S. Augustine* writeth of it, to be a place *Plenus ardore incomparabili, plenus fetore intollerabili, plenus dolore innumerabili, ubi tenebrae, ubi horror eternus, ubi nullus ordo, ubi omnis miseria*. So that *Tuchydides* the Greeke Historiographer writeth full truely of it, that *Rebellion is all kinde of euill*. And as truly saith a later writer of it; that *Rebellion is not onely a sinne, but euen the sincke of all sinne*; for herein lurketh the puddle of all filthie sinnes whatsoever, against God & man, against Gods annointed Vizegerents, Deputies and Lieutenants, against countrie and countrimen, against parents, children, kinsfolks, and friends. In rebellion is apparant perurie, whereby Gods holy name is contemned and dishonoured, by breaking of oathes, and renouncing alleagiance before sworne to lawfull Kings and Princes, by calling to witnesse the name and Maiestie of God. In rebellion most wicked, detestable, vaine swearing and blaspheming of Gods holy name, and of the parts & members of the blessed body of Christ Iesus, breake out without either feare of God or any controulment of lawes. In rebellion you shall see the Lords day neglected, unhallowed, and the reuerent vse thereof prophaned, not onely by the rebels themselves, but also by those Christians that

that would full gladly and withall their hearts keepe it holy, and yet hereby are forced to assemble and meete armed in the field, to saue themselves, their goods, houses, wiues and children against the inuasion and furie of rebels. Most errant In rebel'io thefts, desperate robberies, and most cruell murthers, with are thefts, spoiling and bloud-shedding violence, not against a few, murthers, but whole and infinite multitudes, do then most range, when robbing & rebellion beareth the sway. Damnable whoredomes, adul- spoiling, series, fornication, forcible rapes and rauishments, violating whordom, and deflowring of matrons, widdowes, mens wiues, daugh- of widows, ters, virgins and maides, are most rise in time of rebellion wiues and maides, &c. among most horrible and damnable rebels. And finally a- In rebell- among these most impious & atheisticall rebels, are all lawes on is the both diuine and humaine, broken, contemned, and trampled breach and vnder foote, and all manner of sinnes possible to be commit- contempt ted against God and man are set abroache. Who then is so of both blind but he may enen with halfe an eye, see and easily dis- Gods laws cerne the wonderfull difference betweene this beastly mo- and mans ther sinne, this terrible monster of rebellion, insurrection, lawes. disloyaltie and disobedience to higher powers, and the most excellent, sweete, amiable, and most pretious gift of God, blessed Peace, the daughter of Christian, faithfull, and duti- full obedience. For by the one, namely rebellion, shall men reape such vnsauorie, such infected and poysoned fruites, as you here before haue read or heard of: By the other, to wit, Peaceable obedience shall good loyall subiects dwell with- Commodities of out feare, euery man under his Vine, and under his Figge tree, peace and from Dan vnto Bersheba: from Portsmouth in the South parts obedience. of England, to Dungisbie in the North parts of Scotland, and so through out the vtmost parts of all good King James his fortunate kingdomes and dominions. How foolish, how bewitched, and how insatiated are then those subiects, that will not lay hold on, follow and imbrace this so commanded, necessary, profitable, dutifull and loyall obedience, and that obuijs vlnis & ἀποτέρας (quod aintt xερον.) Ambabus vel utrif-

To perswade and allure subiects to dutifull obedience, que mani- both holy Scriptures and diuers learned prophane writers bne-

To what
end good
examples
of obedi-
ence doe
chiefly
serue.

What vse
to make of
the exam-
ples of dis-
obedient &
rebellious
subjects.

Two of
the best
examples
of obedi-
ent and du-
tifull sub-
jects.

haue sundrie examples, most manifestly setting before mens eyes, and consideration of their hearts, both how the best sort of subjects haue in this case of obedience behaued themselves, (whose examples in this tempestuous and blustering world may serue as they were anckers or staues to stay, and as it were firmly to stablish wauering minded subjects by) and also examples of the worst sort of subjects, whose ambitious aspiring mindes, and enuious rebelling heads haue procured both their owne and their posterities most miserable ruine and vtter ouerthrowe, that such like affected subjects as they were, might by their precedent falles, learne in time, and beware, and stoppe the beginnings of all disobedient, rebellious and seditious practises.

For the better sort of subjects, let *Dauid* his behauiour whiles he was yet a subject, out of the olde Testament : and *Christ Iesus* his behauiour, when he yet in his manhood wandered for a time, and conuersed with vs here on earth, out of the new Testament be set before our eyes to view and consider of, for our learning and instruction, in the stead & name of all the rest, as most fitte and liuely paternes for all good, loyall, and true hearted subjects, to shape, fashion and frame their duties by : whereof *Dauid* when God had deliuered his bitter persecuting enimie King *Saul* into his hands in a Caue where *Dauid* and his men had hid themselves from the presence of *Saul*, when and where *Dauid* wanted neither fit occasions nor exasperating counsaile to haue kild his aduersarie the King, being so neare him that he had cut off the lap of his garment, yet he abstained from so vndutifull a fact, praying the Lord to keepe him from doing any such thing vnto his maister the Lords annoynted, and with earnest entreatie ouercame his seruants that they should not arise against their King. The like also fell out an other time not long after, when *Dauid* and *Abishai* entred King *Sauls* camp, both the King himselfe and all his hoast being cast on a deepe sleepe, and came so neare the kings body, that *Abishai* earnestly prayed *Dauid* to giue him leaue to smite the king with his owne speare, affirming that he would lay it on so soundly

1. Sam. 24.
4. 5. 6.

1. Sam. 26.

soundly, that one stroke should serue to make him sure for euer, yet *David* would not consent vnto this, but prayed the Lord as before to keepe him from laying his hands on the Lords annoynted. Many examples before this had *David* shewed of his prompt and ready obedience to his Soueraigne Lord and maister King *Saul*; yea euen to the often hazarding of his bloud and life against the Kings enemies the *Philistins*, as the bookes of *Samuel* in diuers chapters do testifie. And here now in these two examples of sparing the Kings life, being so straunglie deliuered into his hands, he setteth forth a generall rule and lesson for all subiects in the world among all posterities, not in any wile to resist higher powers, nor by their owne priuate authoritie to take the sword in hand, nor to consent to the taking of the sword in hand, to kill or hurt any King or other supreme ruler and gouernour, no not although it lye in their power neuer so easilie, without any bloud shedding, tumults, or great broyles to effect the same.

Learn of *David* not to yeeld to bad counsaile although it seeme neuer so good and necessarie.

What *David*'s example doth teach.

This good subiect *David* was so louing and kinde, yea euen vnto a bad King his vnderferued enemy, and euery where hunting after, and thirsting for his innocent bloud, that at the very last cast of King *Saul*, when an *Amalekite* by his consent and request had slaine him, and brought the first tidings thereof to *David*, supposing to haue receiued some great reward at *David*'s hands for his newes, vpon the knowledge thereof *David* after he had a while mourned and lamented the death of *Saul*, he asked the messenger whether he were not affraide to laye hands on the Lords annoynted to destroy him; and presently commanded one of his seruants to kill him for that act by his owne mouth confessed. O *David*, *David*, thou most worthy mirrour of obedience and dutifulnesse to Gods substitutes here on earth; what if thou were aliue in these our dayes? Thou that didst so readilie obay, so reuerently vse, so patiently forbear, so sorrowfully mourne and weepe for the death, and so willingly reuenge the death of a wicked King, that had beene so disobedient to God, and whom God had therefore vterly cast off,

D

with

with what reproachfull termes and irefull words wouldst thou not exclaime vpon, and reuile, yea with what tortures and torments of most shamefull death wouldst thou not destroy, such forlorne diuelish bloudie hel-bounds, such desperate treacherous conspiratours, and viperous rebels, as most naughtilie, vnkindly, and vnnaturally against Gods Church, their native cuntry, the Kings Maiesties person and estate, will attempt to hazard the liues of so many thousands of men, women, and children, by deposing or murthering so kinde, naturall, and louing a King, as is now our most noble

Concern-
ing King
James, and
his lurking
aduersaries.

Soueraigne Lord King *JAMES*, so gracious a King, so carefull and prouident for the good and welfare euen of his worst subiects, such a maintainer of blessed peace and quietnesse, not only at home, but also with forraine nations, and neighbour countries round about, such a fauourer of all humanitie and learning, such a *Mecenas* of the learned, most bountifull to all goodmen, yea though to his owne priuate losse, hinderance and charges, and so necessarie a head for the whole body and state of all his realmes, kingdomes and dominions? Let this one notable example of *Dauid* that good and obedient subiect serue in this place for all other out of the old Testament. Out of the new Testament what more excellent and worthy example can be produced to be considered or meditated vpon, and carefully to be imitated of all good Christian subiects, then that of Christ Iesus himselfe, who all the time that he wandred vp and downe on earth in our flesh, though he were very God as well as man, yet he neuer disdained to reuerence and obey such as were in authoritie in his time; he neuer behaued himselfe seditiouse, nor rebellious, but rather taught and commaunded, to giue vnto *Cesar* the things which vnto him belonged; openly he taught the Iewes to pay tribute vnto the Romane Emperours, openly for himselfe and his Apostles he payed tribute, yea when he wanted money, rather then he would faile in payments due and accustomed to the higher power, he miraculouse caused a Fish to bring him xx. pence to discharge such duties for himselfe and his companie. And he himselfe
and

The most
worthy ex-
ample of
Christ Ie-
sus, for o-
bedience
to magi-
strates.

Mat. 22. 21

Mar. 12. 17

Luk. 20. 25

Rom. 13.

Mat. 17. 27

and his Apostles receiued many and diuerse iniuries at the hands of wicked and faithlesse magistrates, yet neither he nor any of them euer moued nor stirred vp any sedition or rebellion against any gouernours, and such as were in authoritie, but patiently without resistance put vp, digested, and quietly suffered all vexations, slaunders, and wrongs, knowing that the authoritie of power was instituted and ordeined of God, and therefore both with their words they taught obedience, and in all their doings they gaue examples of the great reckoning and account that they made of the same. Among many other examples of the new testament this only may suffice which our Lord Iesus Christ hath giuen for an eternall example to all manner of subiects, to teach them to yeeld this christian and dutifull obedience to all Soueraigne Emperours, Kings, and Princes, yea though strangers, wicked and wrongfull, if God at any time for our sinnes sake place such ouer vs. But some man may here aske a question and say, how and in what maner should a subiect obey his soueraigne in such sort that he may be assured that his obedience shalbe accepted before God, and dutifully discharged before man? To whom I answer. A faithfull and a true hearted subiect must be carefull and heedfull to serue and obeye his soueraigne in thought, in word, or deed. A faythfull and a true hearted subiect must be watchfull and warie that he offend not, that he breake not his allegiāce neither in thought neither in word, nor in deed. And first concerning thought: Note this, that if God will haue seruants obedient to their maisters in singlenesse of heart, not with eie service as men-pleasers but from the heart. *Ephes. 6. 6.* how much more fit and meete is it, that subiects should obey & serue their soueraigne with the like singlenesse and simplicitie of heart and not with outward shewes only, where their hartes concurre not with their outward appearances. And God is a spirite. *Jo. 4. 24.* and will haue himselfe worshipped in spirit and in truth, so let no subiect doubt of it, but that he will likewise haue his owne chose deputies, his owne sword bearers, to haue their due yeelded them from the heart,

A question
concerning
obedience
resolved.

Ephes. 6. 6.

he himfelfe knoweth the imaginations of the heart and all
 1. Chro. 28. the fecret thoughts therein, he himfelfe fayth, *Da mihi cor;*
 Prov. *Give me thy heart.* And fhall not they whom the fame God
 hath ordeyned, appoynted, and fubftituted to be his depu-
 ties, vizegerents, and minifters, to fupplie his roome and
 place among men haue and be ferued with the verie hearts
 of their fubiectes? Surely they are very vngodly men, and
 1. Sam. 10. as the holy ghofte calleth them the fonnes of *Belial*, that is
 27. vnyoaked perfons, which refufe to draw in the yoake of loy-
 all and dutifull obedience, and that euen from the very heart,
 which is that part of man that God moft chiefly refpecteth.
 And note this moreover, that God in plaine and exprefle
 words prohibiteth curfing of the king, yea euen in fecret
 thought: thence then wee may plainly gather and learne
 Eccl. 10. 20 that as God will not haue a king to be curfed, no not fo
 much as in the fecret thought of a fubieft, fo no doubt on
 the other fide the fame God will haue a king to be ferued
 and obayed yea euen in fecret thought. Chriftian, godly,
 wife, and dutifull fubiefts ought to reпреffe and fuppreffe in
 themfelues euery infurrection in minde, and all deprauing
 and light account of their Soueraigns, & a difloyall thought
 ought not to haue any place or poffeffion in any corner of
 their hearts, for the reuerence of the king hath God fetled
 and feated immediatly vpon the confcience of the fubieft,
 fo that what fubieft fo euer deiefteth the King out of his
 confcience deiefteth God himfelfe who requireth to fit in
 his confcience, and that fubieft which willingly, wittingly,
 and feeingly yeeldeth to entertaine in his thought an vnre-
 uerent eftimation of his Soueraigne, cannot be excufed in
 that very acte from defpifing and defpiting of God, for
 though the externall fubiection and obedience be neuer fo
 great and ftrict, yet his contemptuous thought (though the
 difreuerence be neuer fo fecret) cannot ftand without the con-
 tempt of God, and that confcience that is guilty of defpight-
 full and quarrelsome thoughts againft the Lordes annoin-
 ted (how clofely fo euer it lurketh) is filby, as Saint Iude
 faith.

What it is
 for a sub-
 iect to fo-
 ster and
 cherifh
 an euill
 thought in
 his heart
 againft his
 foueraigne.

Epist. Iude.
 verfe 8.

And

And therefore as true loyall subiects doe tender the quiet and safe keeping of their owne consciences, they must tenderly and carefully keepe the obedience and reuerence of their King in the reines of their thoughts, which is the very originall fountaine of all true obedience, flowing and issuing out first from the very internall thoughts of the heart. *Keepe Pro. 4. 23. thine heart with all diligence,* saith the wisdom of God by *Salomon*: for as the heart is eyther pure or corrupt, so is the whole course of a mans life.

A man that would haue water sweete, cleane, and wholesome, for his meate, drinke, or any other his necessarie vse, must be carefull to keepe the very spring-head cleane, cleare, and free from all poyson and corruption: Euen so a good subiect must alwayes be mindefull to preserue the thoughts of his heart pure and free from any contemptuous rebellions or disloyall conceits against his supream head, and so shall he easilie by such custodie of the heart, preserue and keepe the purer both his wordes, and all the actions of his life, both for duties towards God and towards *Cesar*. Wee finde it and prooue it too true by our deare bought experience, and the holy-ghost doth teach vs the same in plaine termes, *that the heart of man is deceitfull and wicked aboue all things.* *Ier. 17. 9. Gen. 6. 5. & 8. 21.*

O how needfull then is the counsaile of *Salomon* before cited, *To keepe the heart with all diligence*, with inward diligent keeping, and with outward diligent keeping: with inward diligent keeping, least corruption arising from the inward thoughts of the heart, burst out from thence to the polluting and defiling of our words and deedes in duties towards our Soueraigne: with outward diligent keeping, least from without, from ouer-familiar conuersing, and company-keepings with the ambitious, rebellious, and other wicked, disloyall and male-contented persons, the devils outward meanes, which he useth to the seducing of good subiects by them, by their counsailes and enticing perswasions to corrupt, infect, and poyson the very intrailles of the heart and secret thoughts.

Full wise, and very necessarie is the counsell of the Poet:

Ouid:

Obsta principijs sero medicina paratur

Cum mala per longas conualuitre moras.

And an other saith:

Stoppe the beginnings, so shalt thou be sure,

All dangerous diseases to helpe and to cure.

What is to
be done
when a mā
is entised
or drawne
by any kind
of meanes
to yeeld to
treason.

If any impious, irreligious, fawning, flattering *Absolon*-like
natured subiect, with faire speeches, flatterie, & great promi-
ses assault thy simple and plaine meaning heart, drawing by
any way and meanes towards disloyaltie, marke such well
and auoide them, nay not onely that, but moreouer, be he ne-
uer so noble, neuer so popular, neuer so welbeloued, neuer so
mightie, nay if he were the sonne of thine owne mother, or
thine owne sonne or thy daughter, or thy wife that lyeth in
thy bosome, or thy dearest friend which is to thee as thine
owne soule, if any of these, yea if all these should entise thee,
allure thee, or goe about cunningly to with-drawe thee
from any one iot of true and dutifull allegiance, yet keepe
thou diligently thy thoughts, thy words and thy deeds, from
yeelding vnto them, keepe diligently the passages of thy
sences so that they make not an entrie into thine heart, resist
the enemy rather without the gates, then within the walls:
consent not to any such entisers, heare them not with thine
care, pittye them not with thine eye, keepe not their secrets

Treason is
not to be
hid and co-
cealed for
any mans
sake.

Cicero in
Lelio suo.

in thine heart, but discouer their plotting conspiracies and
trayterous patching practises, be he or she neuer so neare,
neuer so deare vnto thee: yet shew rather thine obedience to
God, thy true loyaltie to *Cesar*, and thy christian loue to thy
Countrie, from which let not all thy friends in the world
withdrawe thee, for as that good and most famous father of
his country *Cicero* said once very wel, *Nulla est excusatio pec-
cati si amici causa peccaueris*. It is no excuse for thyne of-
fence, if for thy friendes sake thou do amisse. Take example
and learne of *Mordakai* who with all expedition detected
the conspiracie of *Bigten* and *Tereb* against their king
Ahuernus: which their treason should haue beene put in
execution the next daye at the kinges next going abroad

Esdr. 2.2.

had

had not faithfull *Mordacai* disclosed the same, and that as soone as euer he knew it. Subjects in whom true allegiance hath taken suretoote must be most carefull herein, yea euen in the very beginning, for in fire and treason. *Morastri- bis periculum*, lingering delayes in this case are perilous. Finally as wife *Salomon* prayed vnto God to turne the hearts of his people to him: so like a good subject pray thou to thy God to conuert and turne the hearts of all subjects to their kings, and pray thou likewise to the most high and mighty king of kinges to direct thy heart, thy secret thoughts, and therewithall thy words and proceedings to the performance of all loyall obedience, and reuerent duties to *Cesar*, and see that thou breake not thine allegiance to him in thoughts, nor wordes much lesse in open actions. So doing amonge manifold other graces, fauours, and blessings which shall follow thee & ouertake thee in earth, this is one promised to him that loueth purenesse of heart, that *the King shall be thy friend*, *Pro. 22. 11.* and in heauen thy felicity shalbe to see God, by the promise of Christ Iesus his own mouth as in *Mat. 5. 8.*

Thus much for the good, and imitable examples of the obedience of the best subjects, and of the maner of true obedience. And now a while to speake of some examples of worffe kinde of subjects, of their contempt, disobedience, conspiracies and rebellions, against the higher powers, whose ends, bad successe, and shamfull confusions, may be warnings and caueats for all posteritie to take heede of the like disloyall and traiterous enterprises, least they bring the like ends with them. And among these, first to begin with *Absolon*, the worst sonne of the best father that euer we read of in these cases, a double traitor; a traitor to his father, and a traitor to his King, though all against the onely person of *Dauid* his father, who first by slander, secondly by flatterie, thirdly by faire promises, and fourthly by hypocrisie attempted most high treason. First by slander, his fathers gouernment, as though therein were no iustice ministred, nor any body deputed to heare and determine matters in controuersie. Secondly by flatterie, in doing obedience,

Delay is dangerous especially in fire and in treason. *1. Kin. 8. 58*

Pro. 12. 11.

What vs is to be made by the examples of bad subjects proceedings, and of their end.

Absolon his example of treason, & of his end.

2. Sam. 15.

2. 3. 4. &c.

What outward practices *Absolon* vsed to bring his wicked rebellion about. And

were foure:

1. Slander.

2. Flatterie.

putting

3. Faire
promises.

4. Hypo-
cristie.

The end
of all *Abso-*
lon his cun-
ning and
traiterous
practises.

2. Sam. 18.

9. 14.

2. Sam. 20.

12.

putting forth his hand, taking and kissing such as came neare vnto him: Thirdly by faire promises, that if he were made a iudge he would do iudgment to euery one that should haue any matter or controuersie: And fourthly by hypocristie counterfainting holinesse to go to *Hebron*, to serue the Lord there by performing of a vow, and offering a peace offering, whereas in deed he meant no such matter, but only in that place vnder that colout to drawe an heade of his fathers subiects to depose his father from his kingly throne, and himselfe to vsurpe the same. O most vile, traiterous, and double vnnaturall fact: but marke the end what became of it, what successe had he, how prospered he? *Ahitophel* his chiefe counsailler hanged himselfe, twentie thousand of his followers poore seduced common people were slaine in the field, by king *Dauid* his seruants, (God fauoring a righteous cause) and *Absolon* himselfe though a man of very goodly person, dearly beloued of his father (who for all his rebellion yet gaue commaundement to saue his life) and also mightely fauoured and followed of the common people, so that by all likelyhood, no man would or durst lay but the weight of one finger on him, to hurt him: But yet notwithstanding all this, God aboue the king of all kings, disliking this rebellion and forbidden disobedience against such as he in his wisdom setteth vp in authoritie, to leaue an euerlasting memoriall, and a terrible example of his vengeance against all such to the end of the world, did not only confound and ouerthrow all his conspiracie, treason and rebellion, but also rather then there should want a gallowes or gibbet, or an halter to trusse vp one that had so wel deserued such a death; God provided an Oake tree to serue that turne in steed of a gallowes, as he was fleeing by the way, to hange him on by the haire of his owne head in steed of an halter, vntill *Ionab* hastening to the place, with three darts thrust him through, & so ended him, whom he founde hanging aliue, when he came first to him. And what better speed had *Sheba* an other traiterous rebell against the same king *Dauid*, lost he not his head? had he not his head cut from his shoulders, and sent

sent for a present by the citizens of *Abel* vnto *Ioab*, *Davids* chiefe captaine? And what shall I write more? It would make this my Looking-glasse too large and too heauie if I should as fully, as of such matter there is store, display herein the vile trecherous beginnings, the most horrible, enuious, malicious, ambitious, and rebellious proceedings, and the worthely deserued shamfull ends of *Korab*, *Dathan* and *A-* Num. 16.
biram, of captaine *Zimbri*, of *Shallum* the sonne of *Iabelsh*, of 1. King. 16.
Pelab the sonne of *Remaliab*, of the seruants of king *Am-* 2. King. 15.
mon that slue their maister the king. And in prophane his- 2. King. 21.
tories of *Brutus* & *Cassius* that conspired the death of *Cesar* Brutus and
after whose death they neuer had quiet day till blood was Cassius.
requited with blood. Of *Eugenius* that rebelled against the
Emperour *Theodosius*, whose rebellious armie the Lord con- Trip. hist.
sumed and dismaide, whereby *Eugenius* was in the end for- lib. 9. ca. 43.
ced to fall downe at the feete of *Theodosius*, where notwith-
standing he was slaine & had his rebellious head cut off fro
his shoulders. Of *Procopius* against the Emperour *Valens*, Trip. hist.
of whom *Procopius* being taken in open fight in the field, he lib. 7. ca. 15.
had for his iust reward his two leggs tyed to two yong trees
growing neare together and bowed downe by strength,
which being sodenly let rise, rent *Procopius* the rebell asun-
der. Of *Magnensius* the rebellious tyrant against *Constans* Lib. eccl. 10
the Emperour who neuer enjoyed good day after his rebel- cap. 19.
lion till he was vtterlie destroyed by *Constantius* the Empe-
rours brother. And in our English Chronicles of diuerse
Dukes, Earles, Lords, and Knights, and thousands of their
followers. And likewise in the Scottish I need not to be-
stow neither time, paper, nor inke (it being lately heretofore
done by others) vpon the description of the vnnaturalnesse
barbarity, and high traiterous, and viperous attempts of di-
uers Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of late time, &
of many of the common inferior treacherous sort, adhering
and readie at command of the sayd Noble men and their
complices, all of them differing far from the spirit of *Mo-* Gen. 27. 16.
ses that man of God who was more troubled in his spirite 17.
(being forwarned of God of the time of his death) for a go-
uernor

Learne to
take war-
ning by o-
ther mens
faller

uermour for his people then for the losse of his owne life, whereas these on the other side shewed themselves very forward, earnest and busie, though with daunger of the losse of their liues, lands, and goods, to depriue the people their neighbours, countriefs, and friends of a most christian vertuous, wise, and learned gouernor, and to set all vpon seauen and a leauen, for the effecting and bringing to passe of their deuillish, wicked, desperate and vnnaturall treacherous enterprises. But seeing that both sacred and prophane histories, both English and Scottish Chronicles may furnish vs, as it were with whole clowds of such examples for caueats and warnings in this case, let all English, Scottish, Irish, and all other good king IAMES his now liuing-subiects, and their succeeding posteritie laye to their hearts, consider, take warning, and learne to be wise by such conspiracies, factions, seditious, commotions, rebellions, lewde dispositions, inconsiderate and wicked attempts, foolish and rash actions, recorded *Ad perpetuam rei infamiam*:

Felix o nimium felix aliena pericula

Quem cautum reddunt quemque cauere docent.

O happie are those subiects sure,
whom rebels harmes make ware:
Full quietly may they take rest,
when rebels carke and care.

Ignatius
epist. 2. ad
Magneſia-
nos.

Rom. 13.2.

Two kind
of punish-
ments of
treasons.

Full truly didst thou write *o Ignatius*, thou good olde christian and constant martyr of Iesus Christ in the Primatiue church, *No man euer remained unpunished which lifted up himselfe against his betters, his superiours, his princes*: Agreeing herein with the doctrine of the holy ghost by S. Paul: *They that resist shall receaue to themselves iudgment*, that is not only the punishment of iudges here in this life, but also the eternall vengeance of God in the life to come: For the punishments of disobedience & treason are of these two sorts; either punishments of and by God, or punishments of or by man. The punishments of men are mediately laid vpon conspirators, rebels, & traitors, by men whom God doth vse as his rods and instruments against them to correct & scourge them by: The punishments of God, are those which are sent

sent from God immediatly, whereof there wants not many terrible, fearefull, and extraordinarie examples, as hereafter anone you shall more at large here of them by diuerse their severall sorts and kinds. The punishments that falls vpon such trecherous offenders mediately by man, are punishments in death, punishments in bloud or posteritie, punishments in name, punishments in buriall, punishments in body, punishments in offices, punishments in howses, lands, and goods. The punishment in death is by a speciall appointed manner of death, not common after the common sort of other offenders deaths, but as they offend against no common person, but against the head of the common-wealth, so is their death for the most part by the head being taken from the rest of the body, as in their life time they conspired, practised, and sought to cut off their supreme Soueraigne head, euen so by most iust death they suffer *Legem talionis*, the Law of like for like, for affecting though very seldome effecting (*Interueniente plerumque prouidentis suis protectione diuina*) the most wicked, bloody, irreligious & impious subuersion, and vtter downfall of kings and princes, whom God hath set vp to be rulers, gouernours, and heads ouer his people. The punishments in bloud and posteritie, is when their children, and childrens children, their bloud, and all their posterity through the attendor and shamefull fall of their traitereous parents and auncetors, are so stained and dishonored, & their ancient houses, lands, & goods so dissipated & ouerthrowne, that their posterity though they spare with open mouths to exclaime vpon them curse and ban, yet they cannot choose but euen *volentes nolentes* at one time or other burst out, & to future ages bewaile and lament their auncestors trecherous disloyaltie to their Princes and countrey. Punishment in name, is when the very name of rebels & traitors giueth a most odious scent and smel throughout the whole land, and reacheth also vnto the ears of the inhabitants of neighbour nations, leauing euery where behind it so vnhappy, so hated, and so infamous, and so reproachful a memory, that the traitors bird may say of his Sire and lewd progenitor; *Tu habes Gen. 34:30 made our fauour to stinke before the inhabitants of the Land.*

The manner of the death of traitors, & what is signified by that kind of death.

Punishments of traitors in bloud and posterities.

Punishment of traitors by nature, how it is.

Punishment
of traitors
in buriall.

Punishment in buriall or rather through want of buriall, is when traitors bodies are dismembred by peece-meale, and being fixed vpon the gates and walles of great cities, are exposed to the eyes and reserved for a fresh remembrance among all men, who seeing their mangled and vnburied limbs might learne by such wofull examples to beware of the like offences.

Punishment
of traitors
in body,
and how.

Punishment in bodies is by the imprisonment, by torments, tortures, and rackings of those bodies which in the time of their health, wealth, prosperitie & libertie, they yeelded to become bond-slaves to most brutish passions and deuillish affections against God and his annointed. Finally, punishments in offices, houses, lands and goods, are by forfeitures and losse of houses, lands and goods, from themselves, from their heires and seed for euer.

Jerem. 27. 8
Num. 16.
2. Sa. 18. 9.

The second sort of punishments which are immediatly from God vpon traitors, rebels, and conspiratours, are famine, pe-silences, leprosie, fierie serpents, earth opening to swallow vp, confederacie of vnreasonable and sencelesse creatures, deprivation of a good conscience, tormenting with an euill conscience: finally casting out of the inheritance and state of the kingdome of heauen, besides many other wordly crosses and calamities by God himselfe laid on the necks and shoulders of this lewde rebellious generation, for *si sera tamen certa vindicta Dei*. Though Gods vengeance be slack & long in comming, yet when it commeth, it lighteth on soundly and surely.

Cyprian his
bridle a-
gainst go-
ing an end
in sinne.

Wherefore as Saint Cyprian wrote, *Si quam turpem cogitationem in mentem tuam venire animaduertis, sulcipe statim indicij extremi salutarem commemorationem*. If thou once perceauest any filthy by thoughts to enter into thy minde, straight way call to remembrance the day of doome or last iudgment of God. Euen so would I wish, that when traitorous thoughts and conceits do once arise and creepe into your mindes, you would often-times thinke on and dayly speake of those sundrie and manifolde iudgements and punishments which resistors and rebels haue receiued, suffered, and beene made sub-

subiect vnto, through Gods stroke and iust iudgment for their disobedience and disloyall practises.

Besides those things heretofore noted, to mooue and stirre vp men to dutifull obedience, I may also adde this, another forcible argument to obedience; that if wee do but a little looke about vs and consider we shall easily spie that very naturall instinct hath wrought, framed, and planted this obedience, awe and feare, in reasonlesse beasts, fowles, & fishes, to one or other superiour in their seuerall kind, as among beasts to the Lyon, among the birds to the Eagle, among fishes of the sea to the Whales, & in pooles to Pikes, yea euen among the poore Bees, there is a king whom all the rest of that companie most willingly accompany, wayte vpon, follow, and obay. And shall man only degenerate and in this poynt shew himselfe inferiour and worse then beasts, fowles, fishes, yea euen then the poore little creature the Bee. But if I should here stand vpon this poynt of obedience at large, and set downe here all that of this matter may be saide or written, answere all obiections, and refute all aduersaries, then should this one chapter concerning obedience vnto *Cesar* grow rather into an huge volume, or large booke, then containe it selfe within the ordinarie bounds of a chapter: and therefore hauing herein as it were pointed at the grounds of this matter, with some few reasons, examples and exhortations to teach the ignorant and to put all others in remembraunce (for that *In bonis obliuio si sumus plerumque omnes*) of this so necessary a duty to be performed by subiects vnto *Cesars*, I will here end this first chapter, referring the christian reader that is desirous to learne more then is here touched and set downe, to the reading of those learned and painfull authors in the page before the beginning of this present chapter set down, where he at large may be satisfied out of such places as they intreat of obedience for any doubts, questions, obiections, or controuerfies, which for want of time or for any other considerations are here omitted.

Another
reason or
argument
to moue to
obedience.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Feare, the second dutie of a loyall subiect.



How ne-
cessary a
thing feare
is, & how
profitable.

Oderunt
peccare ma-
li formidi-
ne pana.

Pro. 24.21.
Rom. 13.4.

Some men (though not very aduisedly nor considerately) do blame and finde great fault with the affection of Feare, as a thing vnprofitable, hurtfull also, and not falling for, nor be seeming a wise nor a valiant man; whereas it is naturallie giuen of God to all flesh, and is not onely profitable for the estate of man, but also expedient and necessarie for religion, and for all ciuill pollicie and gouernment among men. Take away the feare of euill, and the awe of chastisement, correction and punishment, & what way shall there be left to rule and order vnbrideled youth, or to restraine the wickednesse and unrulinesse of ill disposed subiects in any common-wealth? Is it said for naught, that the euill do feare to offend for dread of paine? Or doth the holy-ghost in vaine teach by his Apostle: *In case thou dost committe then feare, for the sword is not carryed in vaine.* To what end both in sacred and prophane writers are the examples of such written, as for their euill and naughtie liues and deeds haue fallen into great mischeces and viter ouer-throwes, if there shall be no vse of feare in vs, by which we may be restrained and made the more warie, least we by the like doings fall into the like inconueniences as they haue done before? God himselfe as appears in holy-writ, doth admonish vs and teach vs to feare the King, and to feare the higher powers, which he would neuer haue done vnlesse that feare had beene both necessary and profitable for the children of God. How true this is, it may appeare both in *Pro. 24.21. My sonne feare the Lord and the King.* And in *Rom. 13. 3. Princes are not to be feared for good workes, but for euill: wilt thou then be without feare of the power? do well, so shalt thou haue praise of the same. 4. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth, but if thou do euil, feare, &c.* Here hence then it may easily be gathered and concluded, that feare, & that not without good cause

cause & great reason, may be reckoned & accounted among the number of those duties which all loyall subiects are bounden to yeeld & giue vnto higher powers, Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other magistrates, and that it is comprehended within that precept of our Lord Christ; *Giue vnto Caesar the things that are Caesars.* This feare is out of questio one of those things which is *Caesars*, and therefore to be giuen vnto *Caesar*. But that you may the better vnderstand the circumstances of this feare, and so become the more thoroughly resolved in the duty of a true subiect herein; you must obserue, that the ancient *Grecians* which for armes and arts flourished most in those dayes among other nations, haue distinguished feare into two kindes, the one good and very necessarie, the other naughtie and very pernicious: this good feare said they turneth men away from wicked, prohibited, & dishonest things, and maketh them staied and well aduised in all their actions. *Plutarke* writing of this kinde of good feare, calleth it one of the elements or grounds of vertue, affirming it to be most needfull & requisite for thē who cary a mind rather to feare the practise of euil, thē to feare the punishment for the same, because the first which is the practise of euill, is the cause of the later, that is, of the punishment for euill to so many as wallow in wickednesse, which neuer escapeth without it iust reward sooner or late. Therefore a prudent & wel aduised loyall subiect, ought to haue this feare alwaies before his eies: this feare I may not vnaptly call a childly or child-like feare, because it is vnseperable ioyned with true loue & a reuerent estimation of the thing feared. This I take to be the same feare which the wisdom of God by *Salomon* required as due both vnto God & king. This is the same feare which the good subiects of wise king *Salomon* gaue vnto him, after that he had giuen so wise a sentence and iudgment betweene the two harlots pleading for the liuing childe, where it is thus said. *All Israel heard the iudgment which the King had iudged, and they feared the King, for they sawe that the wisdom of God was in him to doe iustice.* In this feare, in this kinde of feare, loue, and a reuerent regarde or account, and feare

Two kinds of feare.

The profits of good feare.

Plutarke his opinion of the good feare.*Timor filialis.**Pro. 24. 21.**King. 3. vers. 28.*

feare, do all three concurre and meet together, and that in such a ioynted and vnseperable a sort, that you can not seuer them one from an other. The dutie of this filiall or child-like feare, of this good and profitable feare, is to cause and stirre vp good subiects to haue an eye vnto the good and safetie of higher powers and magistrats, to loue them as well as to feare them, and therewithall to account of them, esteeme and regard them in most reuerent maner, alwaies

The nature
of the good
or child-
like feare,
explicated
by two si-
militudes.

The duties
or effects of
the good
or child-
like feare.

What feare
in the scho-
ler worketh
towards his
schoole-
maister: the
like doth
the feare of
the subiect
towards
his soue-
raigne.

being carefull and watchfull least through any disobedience or disloyall action they should offend: euen like as the good and dutifull child is afraide to offend or incur the displeasure of his good, kind, louing, and naturall parents, or as the good and louing wife is afraid to misbehaue her selfe either by saying or doing any thing that her louing and kind husband may iustly take offence at. The duty of this good feare, is to make men both apter & readier to vndertake & to execute all good, godly, vertuous and laudable matters, whensoever any good and iust occasion shalbe ministred, & also more stayed and better-advised: not rashly, wilfully, and inconsideratly to take in hand any wicked, vnlawfull, vniust, ambitious, malicious, disloyall and rebellious practises and attempts, that by the sequile thereof may procure dammage danger, wreake, confusion or ouerthrow of our kings, rulers, gouernours, or of the common wealth, or perhapps of our selues, our lands, goods, and bloud for euer. If wee conferre and compare together the workings and effects of the feare of a towardly scholler to his schoolmaster and of his good feare, it shall helpe greatly both to the better and plainer vnderstanding hereof, and also it shall greatly auaille to stirre vp and induce the hearts of all circumspect and wise subiects to make more accompt of it, & the more willingly to embrace it.

First a reuerent feare imprinted in the hart of a scholler towards his schoolmaster, bridleth & restraineth him from the contempt of his master, & expelleth from him all carelesnes and negligence. Euen so this feare bridleth & restrayneth a good subiect from all contempt, carelesnesse, & negligence

of

of his loyall and bounden duty towards his Soueraigne Emperor, King, Prince, or any other subordinate magistrates. Secondly the feare in the scholler to his maister causeth him to be the more attentiu to heare, and the more diligent to learne whatsoeuer his maister enioyneth him. Euen so this feare in the subiect towards his supream head and his substitutes which also are the ordinance of God, causeth him to be much more willing, attentiu, & diligent, to read, heare, learne and vnderstand, the proceedings, lawes, ordinances, acts and statutes of his king, that he may the better know what is there allowed or forbidden, and so liue in the more obedient subiection, and not through either ignorance or wilfull obstinatenesse to preferre his owne will before his lawfull magistrates and higher gouernours will, or rather before Gods will: for when a subiect doth any thing stubbornly against the decrees, lawes & ordinances, set forth by his naturall king and his most honorable counsellors, not repugning but agreeable to Gods lawes, then that subiect in so doing preferreth his owne will, not only before the will of the king and his counsell, as though he onely were wiser then they all, but euen also before Gods will, and so sinneth very dangerously against both God and man. Therefore I say that this good and necessary feare, helpeth greatly to stirre vp euery faithfull subiects heart to be contented both to learne and know, & so consequently to be ruled by good and wholsome politicall lawes, and so therby to declare his subiection to Gods appointed deputies and vicegerents, and therein euen to God himselfe. But here some stubborne and foolish ignorant subiect, in whose garden the seede of this good feare was neuer sowne, may perhaps replie and say vnto mee: O sir if the king himselfe commaunded me to do such a thing, or such a thing, then it would neuer grieue me to do it and obay, but now such a one calleth on and would vrge me to it, not so good a mans childe as I am, or a base borne fellow worse then my selfe, what shall I be subiect to such a one and obay what he will? no, no; I will sooner do, yea may will I, I wor what first. To the replica-

The first
vse of feare
in a subiect.

The second
vse of feare
in a subiect.

What it is
to disobay
Princes &
gouernours
lawes.

An obiection.

An answer
to an ob-
jection.

1. Pct. 2. 13

Titus. 3. 1.

Private
subiects of
what note
so euer,
may not
controule
or resist
magistrates
or their
officers
though
they be ve-
ry bad me.

tion of such an haughty broyling spirited, and obstinate, stubborne, rebellious minded subiect, I reioynd after this manner: O thou man voide or ignorant of all dutifull feare belonging vnto *Caesar*, learne and obserue that worthy, (and in this case) that necessary Canon of God by *S. Peter*. *Submit thy selfe not onely vnto the King as to thy superiour, but also vnto gouernours sent of the king.* And learne likewise of an other of Gods chosen vessels *S. Paul*, not to swell against, not to threaten and crack, but rather in steed of that to pray, not onely for kings, but also for all that are set in authoritie vnder them. And learne that not only the king and supream magistrates, but also that euen likewise subordinate, subalternall and inferiour magistrates and officers are ordeined by speciall institution according to Gods will reueiled: and that although inferiour persons haue their authority deriued vnto them but by vertue of a commission out of a commission in the respect of the Prince, yet so long as the prince sendeth him and alloweth and confirmeth his authority, so long is he called and sent from God, in respect of thy conscience: thou art bound to obay for thy conscience sake, thou may not resist for receiuing to thy selfe condemnation or iudgment, of what parentage, birth, or degree soeuer he be, yea or of carriage or behauiour otherwise soeuer he be, be he neuer so bad a fellow as thou takelt him after in thine owne humerous construction, for *Quid hoc ad te, tibi hic non est concessum iudicium, si male egerit, habet iudicem cui in dis illo rationem reddit?* What hast thou to do or meddle to censure his birth, his preferment, his parentage, or who hath appointed thee a iudge for his other bad qualities, or misbehaviour. If he doe amisse he shall be sure to haue a iudge which one day shall call him to an accounte of his stewardship: In the meane time none of these by matters nor hoate protended excuses can discharge thy duty and obedience: *Nisi cogeret te contra dei praeceptum, quippiam agere, hic obedientia reprimenda est & dicendum est oportet deo plus obedire quam tibi:* Alwaies provided if he goe aboute to enforce thee by vertue or vnder colour of his office, to attempt any thing against Gods expresse commaundement and

and will, here in this case onely art thou not bound to obay: but thou may answer with the Apostles *Peter* and *John*, I must obay God rather then you, here onely art thou exempted from obedience, and herein yet thou mayst not in any wise draw thy sword against any magistrate, thy selfe being a priuate person; for Christ himselfe in this case saith vnto thee that which he once spake to *Peter*: Put thy sword up into his sheath, for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Acts. 4. 29

Thirdly the feare which the scholler hath of his maister maketh him carefull to do those things which are right and good, and to auoide the contrary according to his masters appointment. Euen likewise this aforesaid good and necessary feare, frameth and fashioneth in euery faithfull and true subiects heart, an earnest desire to obay those whom God hath set ouer him in all good and godly things, which they command to be done, and eschewing those euil things which they haue by their lawes in any wise prohibited and forbidden, yea although there be no penalty at all set thereon. The third use of feare in a subiect.

Fourthly like as the feare in a scholler maketh him in the ende to become learned and louing to his maister of whome he hath receiued both learning and good manners the effects and fruits of learning, although at the first he were forced thereunto with feare contrary to his owne mind, will, and froward nature. Euen so this good feare in a good subiect bringeth him into an habite of all dutifullnesse vnto his magistrats, maketh him to be come cunning and skilfull in the knowledge of a true subiects allegiance, a thing (as is aforesaid) most necessarie for euery subiect to be acquainted with: next the knowledge of Gods lawes, and moreover it causeth and worketh in euery loyall subiect a reciproke loue towards his King, Prince, &c. in lieu and regard of the manifold and great blessings and benefits which he receiueh & daily & howerly enioyeth by his superiours good protection and government. The fourth use of feare in a subiect.

Fifthly and lastly like as a schollers feare which he hath,

The fit vse
and profit
of feare in
a subject.

Feare al-
though it
be a neces-
sarie thing
to be giuen
to Cesar,
yet may it
be abused.

The first
abuse of
feare.

alwayes mouing and stirring him vp to all dutifull obedi-
ence and loue of his master, draweth a certaine good liking,
inclinatton, and kind affection, loue, and good comendation
from the maister to the scholler, vpon the first triall, and
continued proofes of these vertues issuing and proceeding
first from his reuerent feare. Euen so experience may euery
day teach euery one that will giue his mind to note and con-
sider hereof, that this loyall subjects dutiful feare, after a time
of triall and due tast thereof, and of the effects and vertues
thereof arising, will win and draw out of the hearts of the
king or other supreme heads and magistrats, a certaine reci-
proke mutuall loue and good liking of the higher powers,
towards all such dutifull and louing subjects as shall turne to
their great and singulat comfort, if not to his preferment,
to his exaltation, and the lifting vp of his head amongst his
brethren and felow-subjects. Now as for the most parte
there is not lightly any thing so good, profitable and neces-
sary amongst men, but it may be corrupted, depraued and
decline to the worse part through the abusing of the same;
Euen so likewise this feare hauing all these before named
most excellent qualities, fruits, and effects, yet if you looke
not well vnto it, through the devils suggesting and mans
naturall corruptions and infirmities, this so good and neces-
sary a vertue may notwithstanding be diuers waies be abu-
sed: as first the abuse of this feare ariseth of the vnmeasura-
blenes therof, for as the comon saying is, *Omne nimium ver-
tutum in vitium*, too much of any thing is faulty, then they in-
curre a manifest abuse of this feare which go so far forward
therin that they stand in greater awe and feare of the power
of men then of Gods power, which are throughly touched
with a bodily feare of man, which if they do the worst, can
but kill the body, but God who is able to kill both body
and soule, they feare not at all, or at the leastwise not so
much as men. This peruerse abuse of feare doth Christ him-
selfe correct and reprove, as appeareth in *Mat. 10. 28. Feare
ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule:
but rather feare G. d.*

The second abuse of this feare is when the penall lawes, statutes, forfeitures, and losses of trifles and things of no moment nor weight in comparison, deuised and set downe by men as for the breach of any good orders, or of Gods strait cōmandement, is more feared, and greater account made of it, then of Gods seuerer threatning & curse for the very selfe same offence, as for example; Let either magistrate or priuate person within his owne charge, set down the forfeiture but of one peny, yea though it be lesse, disbursed and paid to the pooremans box or any other vse, for euery vaine oth vnnecessarily sworne, and that shall preuaile more to feare many from blasphemous and vaine needlesse swearing, then can the greuous threatnings of God, to cast both soule and body for euer from the ioyes of heauen to the torments of hell, and all for the selfe same fault and vice. Lo here a marueilous abuse of feare: yea and as it is in this example so it holdeth likewise in many moe other of the like nature.

The second
abuse of
feare.

The third abuse of this feare is, when God either cōmaundeth any good thing, or forbiddeth any ill, yea and that with eyther a gracious promise annexed for the doing of the one, or a greuous punishment for the other: And man commaundeth or forbiddeth the same, yet these things are done, or lest vndone the sooner & with greater care & feare of the commaunding or forbidding by some great men, whom the world is afraid of or honoureth and loueth, then they were for eyther the feare or loue of God: before that any such great man in the world vndertooke to deale in those things. Examples good store, such as in the last second abuse is set downe, for this third might be produced, but the case is so plaine that euery man but of meane capacity may easily see and vnderstand it.

The third
abuse of
feare.

Let this suffice concerning the good, profitable, and necessary kind of feare, spoken of before in my distinguishing of feare into two kinds, and now a while to the later or second kind, which was the pernicious or naughty feare, and this the *Grecians* also expresse by these two words, to wit, *ταχος*, & *σειση*, the one signifying trouble, the other a band,

Of the second
kinde
of feare.

as if they would haue said, that it held the soule wholly troubled and bound, they describe this feare also to be as it were a giddines and as it were an alienation of the minde from the right sence, making the soule idle, dead and voide of euery good exploit, or effect whatsoeuer. And this latter kinde of feare worketh in the wicked a feare of paine and punishment appointed for offending, whereby they are as it were curbed and kept backe as with a bridle, and restrained from presuming to commit their wicked hartes, desired villanies, and damnable purposes.

Of the seruile feare.

This feare is of some called a seruile feare, which worketh neither by loue nor reuerence, nor any other vertuous qualitie, as doth the former filiall or child-like feare, but onely through an horror of punishment which holdeth back from practising mischieuous purposes. Of this spake the Philosopher *Pythagoras*, when he said, that he that is letted from doing of euill for no other respect, but only because he would not be punished, is very wicked: And yet whereas the *Rom. 13. 4.* Apottle *Paul* in the before cited place biddeth to feare Princes, if they do euill, because the magistrates beare not the sword for naught. This same canon for this kinde of feare is very necessarie for the preseruacion of humane societie, for if this were not, all would runne on heapes (as they say) through the licentious, shamelesse, and naughty disposed natures of the wicked, peruerse sort of people, wherewith the whole world now in these last dayes swarmeth. And we must thinke and consider, that it is farre better that the reprobate wicked ones of the world should through this kind of feare be bridleed from the accomplishing of their vile wills and desires, then that they should haue full libertie at their pleasures without all feare, to put them in execution, albeit that yet they cannot be so holden for excused before God, who requireth it at all mens hands, that both euill should be auoyded, and good should be done of all inwardly with heart and spirit, as well as outwardly for any cause or consideration so euer. And yet neuerthelesse we see it oft times fall out by common experience in the world, that such

The vse & profit euen of seruile feare in some sort.

It is not onely to feare euill, and to re-fraine euill for feare onely.

kinde

kind of feare doth not alwaies so stay them from doing of euill, but that though they forbear and hold vnder for a while, yet so much the more they are inwardly inflamed, and kindled with a desire to satisfie their corrupt willes, which at the length violently burst out, and evidently then may the world see what mischiefes they harboured and secretly fostered in their hearts a long time before.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Honour, the third dutie to be performed and giuen by a loyall subiect to the higher powers.



He third dutie due vnto *Cesar*, as is to be gathered & learned both by the fift commaundement (as generally all that haue written thereon, both olde and later writers haue noted) and also by the doctrine of the two before named Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, is *Honour the King*. This honour due vnto

Kings, Princes, Gouvernours, &c. is by their subiects ouer whom God hath placed them many wayes to be giuen and performed. The word *honour*, by a figure, signifieth all that dutie, whereby the dignitie, credit, and estimation of all, but especially of superiours is or can by any meanes be preserved and kept vntoucht or vndefaced. The actions whereof are many, and consist in many points: as first, that subiects of what rank, sort or degree soeuer, should humbly submit, giue ouer themselves, yeeld vp & resigne all their actions, wills, & affections vnto their superiours, to be willingly without resistance ruled & guided by their commaundements, by their laws, acts, statutes, ordinances, & decrees; so they be not wicked, impious, and repugnant to Gods expresse will and commaundements, and of this maner of honor is at large spoken before in this treatise in the describing of the first duty in the first chapter.

Honour
what it signifieth.

The actions of honour are diuers.

Of the first kind of honour due vnto magistrates.

The

Of the second kinde of honour due to Magistrates.

How honour is to be giuen to magistrates in talking with them.

The third kind of honour due vnto superiours.

The fourth kind of honour due vnto superiours.

The second action whereby this honour is to be shewed, and wherein it consisteth, is in talke or speech, either of them or with them; in talke or speech of them, that is, that the subiects communication and talke of and concerning magistrates, rulers, and gouernours, be alwayes honorably and with reuerence towards them, that they take heed and beware that they do not diminish nor empaire their excellency or dignitie, by vnseemely, vnreuerent, and contemptuous words, and herein also is included the abstaining & forbearing of all manner of euill speaking, mocking, scorning, scoffing, deriding, reuiling, cursing, or banning of superiours, as things most vnhonorable, yea worthy of death, *Exo. 21. 17.*

Exo. 22. 18. Prou. 20. 17. And as honour is to be giuen and exhibited to higher powers and states in talking of them, so is it also in talking to and with them, as in giuing them their honorable right and iust titles, thereby in speech to declare a due and worthy reuerence and estimation of them when any talke is had with or before them *1. Pet. 3. 6. Mark. 10. 17. 1. Sam. 14. 15.* In letting them speak before vs, *Iob. 32. 6. 7. 17* in keeping a reuerent silence in courts and iudgment places in their presence, vntill we be bidden speake, and then not to be sawsie or malapert in words before them. *Act. 24. 10.*

The third thing, way, or meanes by which superiours are to be honored, may appeare in the subiects behauour and gesture in their presence, as in bowing the knees to them, *Mark. 10. 17. Gen. 18. 2.* In standing by them when they sit downe. *Gen. 18. 8. Exo. 18. 13.* In giuing them the chiefe seats *1. King. 2. 19. Luk. 14. 7. 8. 9.* In reuerent rising vp before them as they passe by. *Leu. 19. 32.* In meeting them, as they come towards vs. *Gen. 18. 2. 1. King. 2. 19.* Fourthly they are to be honored inwardly in the very secret mind and affection, that is, their subiects are to thinke honorably, louingly, and reuerently of them from their very hearts, acknowledging them to be the deputies and ministers of God, provided and sent of God for their weale, and the rather to moue subiects more willingly and readily to yeeld them their due honour, they must learne, know, and consider, that whosoever honoureth

noureth the deputie, is counted thereby to honour him that appointed the deputy, and whosoever despiseth him whom God hath sent, despiseth therein God the sender, and whosoever perswadeth himselfe that externall honouring of his Prince is sufficient, though inwardly in his heart he foster & *Ecc. 10. 20* harbour a contemptuous, malicious, and rebellious thought, that man is altogether deceiued in such his conceite, for that subiects conscience that is guilty of dishonorable and quarrellsome thoughts against his supreme head and gouernour (though he keepe it neuer so secret) is wreacked, and such a one is giuen ouer vnto other vncōscionable faults: as *S. Iude Epist. Ind. 8* witnesseth, *That they are fleshy persons that despise gouernment.* And therefore as subiects do feare to be delivered vp into a reprobate mind, and tender the works of godlines in themselves, let them tenderly keepe the honourable reuerence of their Prince in their minds, inward affections, and in the reines of their consciences: for the neglect and smal regarde and care hereof, hath bin the very fountaine and well-spring of all conspiracies, treasons, and open rebellions, to the ruine and vtter confusion of thousands. And thus farre concerning the third thing due vnto *Cesar*.

The beginning of all conspiracies, treasons, &c. arise from the heart that first faileth in honouring the highest powers.

CHAP. IIII.

Concerning prayer, the fourth duty of a loyall subiect.



Seuery faithfull and loyall subiect is to giue vnto *Cesar* obedience, feare, & honor, as here before in this present treatise you haue hard it plainly laide downe & prooued, so likewise for a fourth duty, are all true harted subiects, bound, taught and commaunded by God in his blessed and sacred word to pray and call vpon him for the prosperous estate, good successe, and long continuance of kings, *1. Tim. 2. 1.* princes, and all such as are set in authority, that the societie *Iere. 29. 7.* and companie of mankinde may liue quietly and peaceably *Baruc. 3. 11*

vnder them, considering how burthensome crownes & scepters, how hard the welding of them is, and how difficult a matter it is to discharge them well, whether it be in respect of themselves, or of their subiects. They must be prayed for, that they may haue Gods fauour and his needfull protection from all wicked, treacherous and rebellious assaults, both of forreine enemies and home-borne, desperate male-contented, dissembling, hypocritish, corner-creeping conspirators, they must be prayed for vnto the Almighty, that he would direct, guide, and lead them in such wayes as are most acceptable to himselfe, & that he would preserue them from all euill: they must be prayed for that they may haue the honour and feare of God before their eyes, as the only marke to aime at in all their proceedings and purposes, and that they may be endued from aboue with the gifts of knowledge, prudence, iustice, temperance, fortitude, vpright seueritie, discreet clemencie, and an earnest zeale of Gods glorie, Gods truth, and of the welfare of their poore subiects committed to their charge.

What things especially are to be prayed for in the behalfe of kings, princes, &c.

Things to be begged by prayer in the behalfe of kings, princes, &c.

They are to be prayed for, that like as God hath deliuered and put his sword into their hands, so he would take their hearts into his hands, and so temper and guide them, that they may vse his sword according to his owne will and pleasure, for the cherishing and praise of their wel-doing subiects, but to take vengeance on them that do euill; and finally that they may set before their eyes, meditate and consider well of the good and imitable examples of good, godly and vertuous Kings, Princes, Iudges and gouernours, as of *Dauid*, *Ezechias*, *Iosias*, *Moses*, and such other like, vnto these commended in holy scriptures, whose paths they may tread, & whose famous, godly, and zealous actes they may follow.

Thus in old time God commaunded the Iewes to pray for the life of *Nabuchodonazer*, and for the prosperitie of *Babylon*, as in *Ierem. 29. 7.* And in *Barnab. 1. 11.* Pray (saith he) for the life of *Nabuchodonazer king of Babylon*, & for the life of *Baltazar his sonne*, that their dayes may be on earth, as the dayes of heauen. &c.

Thus

Thus many yeares afterward did S. Paul exhort, that sup-
 plications, prayers, intercessions, and giuing of thanks be made
 for all men, for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie, that
 wee may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlinesse and
 honestie, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our
 Saviour.

And who was that King *Nabuchodonazer*, that the Pro-
 phet so exhorted the people to pray so for him and his sonne
Baltasar? It was euen such a one as had with sword and fire
 ouer-runne their whole land, burned their countrie, their
 townes and cities, yea euen *Hierusalem* it selfe, wherein was
 the holy temple of the Lord, that they trusted so much vnto,
 such a one as had slaine their king, their nobles, their parents,
 children, kinsfolkes and friends, and had carryed them away
 captiues to *Babylon*, he was an Heathen king, a tyrant, a cru-
 ell oppressour, and a bloudie murtherer of many thousands
 of their nation.

What a
 kinde of
 king *Nabu-
 chodonazer*
 was, for
 who God
 comanded
 prayer to
 be made.

And who were chiefe rulers, and had the supream au-
 thoritie in those dayes, that the holy spirit of God by *Paul*
 exhorted that prayer and supplications should be made
 for such. Truly about that time raigned the Emperours
Caligula, *Clodius*, and *Nero*, no Christians but *Pagans*, and
 that was worse, most cruell persecutours, martyrs, and
 murtherers of godly professed Christians. And doth God
 himselfe commaund, charge, and exhorte their subiects
 to pray vnto him for such Emperours, Kings and Rulers,
 as were strangers, Pagans, Heathen, Infidels, murthe-
 rers, tyrants, cruell oppressours of them, ransackers and
 destroyers of their countrie and friends whatsoeuer; How
 deeplie then are good Christians, and all loyall subiects
 bound continually to pray vnto God, and to praise God,
 for the blessed and most happie gouernment of godlye,
 zealous, and most Christian Kings and Gouernours, and
 for infinite benefites and blessings powred vpon them by
 such gouernement? Surely to fall into such extreame
 ingratitude, and seeinglie, willinglie, and wittinglie, to
 incurre such retchlesse and profound obliuiousnesse of Gods

What
 kinde of
 rulers they
 were for
 whom *Paul*
 exhorted

What it is
 not to pray
 for kings,
 princes &c.

most bountifull blessings through want of prayer & thank-
giuing in this case, what is it else then to commit a most hai-
nous and greuous sinne against God, against such gracious
gouernours, and against their owne countrie, against them-
selues and the common wealth, & thereby to prouoke God
to take away such blessings, and to cause them to feelee many
things, that willingly they would not, and to beare burthens
of griefes, that otherwise they should not, and that worthily
too: This was an exercise in the time of the primitiue church
both highly regarded and feruently followed, their forward
and prompt inclination to pray for Magistrates may appeare
by due testimonie of diuerse godly writers in those dayes,
whereof let onely *Tertullian* at this time speake for the rest,
who saith thus: *We pray alwayes for all Emperours, desiring God
to giue them long life, a sure raigne, a safe house, valiant armies,
faithfull counsellors, honest subiects, a quiet world, and what
soeuer else a man or Emperour may desire.* The king of kings for
his sonne Christ his sake, graunt true Christian subiects the-
like feruent zeale and willing spirites, to be the more dili-
gent, watchfull, and mindfull herein, that *Cesar* may haue his
due, and God his glorie, for euer and euer.

In the 30.
chap of his
Apologie.

CHAP. V.

*Concerning tribute, taxes, subsidies, &c. being the fift
thing due vnto Cesar.*

The causes
for which
taxes, sub-
sidies, &c.
are gree-
uous and
odious a-
mong the
common
subiects.



He fift among those things which are
due to be yeelded vnto *Cesar*, that is, to
euery King, Prince, ciuill Magistrate, &
temporall ruler, is tribute, subsidies,
taxes, and other such like customes, a
thing I know very greuous to the
eares, & no lesse odious to the hearts of
a sort of simple ignorant people, & that partly because that
at such paiments the poorer sort of the comminalltie are of-
tentimes forced by the richer and more able sort (as it is *Vox
populi*,

populi, and would to God it were not too true) to beate the heate and burthen of the day, and to sustaine the greatest charge and paiments, whereps they that are ten times the more able, are nothing the like, for their substance ratablie ceased, but can easily inuent, deuise, and vse diuers cunning subterfugies and starting shifts to draw their necks out of the heauiest part of the yoke, verifying the olde saying; *The weaker must be thrust to the wall.* And partly also because that lightly in all ages there haue euer started vp (if not in deeds, at leastwise in contumelious, slanderous, vndutifull, and disloyall speeches) some such *Thendases* and *Indases* as *Acts. 5.* doctor *Garnatiel* spake of in *Act. 5.* mutinous reformers, grudging and male-contented reuolters, viperous conspirators, & routing, rioting, rebels, which vnder pretence of the commo good of all men, and bearing the people in hand that they sought for, and coueted only a reformation of disorders and a redresse of common-wealth matters, haue spoken against the payment of tributes, subsidies, and such like taxes, which appertaine to kings and princes, affirming them to be oppression and extreame poulling of the poore comminalty, and so haue drawne the silly ignorant vnconstant sort of people at leastwise to murmur, grudge, & exclaime against them, if not to take armes vpon them: Yet notwithstanding what focuer can be deuised to be said to the contrary vpon the heads or by the meanes of any such lewd, wicked, male-contented and insurrectionious authours, who both they themselves and their seduced silly followers through out all ages haue come euer to a bad end. This haue I read, and this I wish all true loyall subiects to consider of, which for my owne parte I dare not nor I cannot but with all mine heart allow of, to wit, that *Ius pendendi vectigalia apud omnes gentes Hyperius in fuit semper receptissimum:* The law of tribute paying amongst *Rom. 13. 6.* all nations euermore hath bin a thing most vsuall and accustomed: and vnto this in the same writer this reason is added, *Recte perpendunt omnes ac satentur, quantum & quam utile sit humana societati magistratum officium, dñi ij pro salute hominũ sine intermissione inuigilant, atque hoc nomine vectigalia haud granatim*

gravatim omnes illis pendunt. All men do right well consider, and confesse, how great and how profitable the office of rulers and magistrats is for the maintayning of the society or fellowship of men, whiles that they watch and take paines for the safety of men, and for this cause they pay their tributs most cheerefully and not grudgingly: And againe he saith, *Hoc scriptura approbant, hoc leges civiles communis gentium omnium consensu recipiunt*: This do the scriptures allowe of, (writing there of tributes paying.) This do the ciuill lawes with the common consent of all nations accept of. And anone after he concludeth this matter of tribute paying with these words, *Vectigalia iuxta receptissimum omnibus gentibus ius sunt danda, idque pro quadam contestatione obedientie magistratibus debita, ob beneficia que per eosdem in communi vita obueniunt*.

Tributs according to the law admitted among all nations are to be payed, and that for a certaine witnessing of obedient magistrats, for the benefits which in common life befall by them. And *Theophilactus* an ancient, a learned, and approued authour cōmenting vpon the Epistle to the *Rom. chap. 13* vpon the words of the Apostle *Reddite tributum* saith thus, *verba reddendi significat debitum quod inexcusabile subditis impostum est*. And *Bucer* a latter writer yet of great reckoning, reading, and learning, agreeing with the same *Theophilact* saith: *Non damus sed reddimus quicquid ex officio cuiquā damus, &c.*

As who would say, subsidies and taxes are not gifts but debts, a gift is a thing in the free choise & liberty of a man whether he will giue it and depart with it to an other yea or no, and if he will not giue it, yet no man hath any remedie or course by law, to constraine him to giue: but debt is a thing which no mā can choose whether he will pay it yea or no, it must of necessity be paid, the lawes will force a man to pay it, will he, nill he, & of this nature are subsidies, taxes and such like vnto

The onely Kings, Princes, and supreme gouernours, debts, not gifts, due lawfull remedie against subsidies, taxes, &c. and payable by the lawes both of God and of all nations: notwithstanding, no pleading to the contrary, no deniall, no excuses will serue. There is no remedie for to free subiects from them, but only the compassion, pity, and bountifullnesse

of

The same
Hyperius
vpon the
Rom. 13.

Theophi-
lactus and
Bucer their
opinions
concerning
tributes,
taxes, &c.

of the king, prince, &c. in pardoning and remitting the same, ^{Diuers} Tributes, subsidies, and such like customes, according to ^{causes} the accustomed orders of that countrey and common ^{wherefore} wealth wherein any subjects do dwell, are to be paid for di- ^{tributes,} ^{subsidies,} ^{&c are to} ^{be paid.} uerse causes, as first for the maintaining and vpholding of that royall estate which God hath giuen to Emperours, Kings, Princes, &c.

Secondly, tributes and customes are to be paide by subiects for the defence and maintenance of the common wealths, in quietnesse, peace, and security, and to the intent that they may be preserved the better, especially in time of warres, necessary prouision must be then had, and as our most noble king *James* hath very truly written, especially monie is to be had in a readines, for that it is *Neruns belli*, without which warres cannot be borne out, and through want of it, kings and princes shall either be forced to yeeld vnto most dishonorable and disaduantageous peace, or lye open, both them selues and their subiects to the open rapine and outragious violence and spoile of forreine inuaders and bloud-thirsty enemies; so that their goods, wiues, daughters and liues shall be made common and commaunded by others, and as the same noble and learned King calleth money *Neruns belli*, so before him *Ulpian* that most famous writer of law cases hath called tributes and customes *Nerui reipublice*, the very sinewes and strength of the common-wealth, without which it can neither consist nor be well gouerned, for according to the old said saying; A great bird hath need of a great nest, what or who is able to reckon vp or trulie to number how many waies and vpon how many occasions the kings mony must still be running: little wottes, and full little considers the common priuate people, what affayres their gouernours haue to vse money in, and to exhaust not onely their purses but their coffers, and that *Pro aris et focis*, for the good, safety, & safe keeping even of them and theirs, that most murmure, mutter and grudge at the payments of such customes, by which such things cannot otherwise be effected.

The third
cause of
paying of
Tribute,
Taxes, &c.

Thirdly tributes are to be paid by loyall and faithfull subiects, thereby to contestate and acknowledge their subiection to their Soueraigne, who for his good and royall preservation hath power to commaund them, their goods, their lands, their liues and whatsoeuer they haue, their soules only excepted, for that is to be resigned only to God *animam deo, corpus regi.*

2 Sam. I. 24

Lam. 4. 20.

The benef-
its that
come by a
King, &c.

The bene-
fits that
subiects re-
ceiue by
their king
and gouer-
nour.

Fourthly and lastly, these tributs and taxes are to be paid by good subiects, yea and that with good and reuerent affections to their Princes, in regard of thankfulness for benefits by them and by their meanes receaued. As Dauid in his lamentation for the death of king *Saul*, calling to remembrance the benefits which his subiects had reaped by him in his life time, said to the daughters of *Israel*, *Weepe for Saul which clothed you in skarlet with pleasures, and baged ornaments of Gould upon your apparell.* And againe as the prophet *Ierem.* said of king *Iosiah*, that he was the *breath of their nostrils*, and that *under his shadow they had bene preserved alie among the Heathen.* Euen so may I say and write vnto all wise and discrete loyall subiects, were it not for the care, vigilancie, paines, and circumspect gouernment of your kings, princes, &c. what would become of your braue and fine attire, of your costly & gorgious garments, of your most exquisit fine linnin, of your silks, of your veluets, your skarlets, of your exceeding sumptuous clothings, your ornaments of gould, your surpassing apparell, and of all your pleasures that your selues, your sonnes, and your daughters do take therein. Nay more then this, what would become of the breath of your nostrils, that is of your very liues, then which what can be more precious vnto you, and how were it possible for you to be preserved alie among your enemies so greedily on euery side hunting for your landes, your goods, and all those treasures whereof you make most accompt, were it not that you are shadowed vnder the wings of the lords anoynted of king, princes &c. vnto whom for these and exceeding many moe benefits receaued, and discommodities and mischies auoyded, too many for me heare to repeate by

by name (next vnder God the primary authour of all goodnesse) you are altogether beholding for these so great blessings, which none knowes nor considers how great they are but such as haue tasted and smarted for the want of them. Let subiects therefore bethinke themselves in their consciences how much they are bound to their soueraignes, and studie to be thankfull againe to them, as in all other duties and obediences, so also in this point of chearfull and willing payments of tributes, taxes, &c.

Tributes and taxes are the lawfull reuenues of Princes, which they may chieflie employ to sustaine the comon charges of their office: which yet they may likewise vse to their priuate royalty which is after a certaine maner conioyned with the honor of the princely state that they beare. But yet alwayes so provided that Kings and Princes should on the other side haue this for their parts still in remembrance, that their exchequers, and treasure chambers, are not so much their owne priuate coasers, as the treasuries of the whole land. Let not this doctrine that Tributes are so necessarily and strictly to be payd, be an occasion to encourage Princes to wastfull and vnnecessary expenses, to ryote and excessive abuse of the treasuries, or rather the sweat of the brows, and the very bloud of their people, which not to spare is cruel and tyrannicall vnnaturalnesse, & let them no otherwise thinke but that those impositions, taxes, tributs and charges of money or prouision which they receiue from their subiects, are especially to be supports, shields, and bucklers for publique necessity, wherwith continually without intermission to burthen and weary out the poore comminalty, especially without some great cause is tyranicall extortion. Neither on the other side let this doctrine concerning Princes be an occasion for common people and priuate men, little acquainted with princes affaires, rashly and stubornly to entermiddle with iudging of condemning or censuring of Princes expences, although in their silly simple iudgment they exceed and offend in lawlesse excess in many things, and many times. *Ne suorum oltra crepidas.* In deed subiects must

in your allan
brought and
by the
no

Calvin is
his instruct.
lib. 4 ca. 20
sect. 13.

A lesson
necessarie
for Kings
and Prin-
ces to ob-
serue and
practise.

A lesson
for subiects
to note &
obserue.

helpe and aide their ciuill Magistrates, especially the higher powers, whensoever occasion and necessitie shall so require, yea though it were with the bestowing of their bodies, liues and bloud, much more with the tribute of some small portions of their goods.

Bullinger in
his second
Decade vp-
on the 5.
and 6. com-
mādmēt.

or. 20. p. 11

A lesson
for Kings
and Princes
to ob-
serue and
practise

A lesson
for Iudges
or Iudges
or Iudges
or Iudges

The Saints did gather their goods in common to helpe the Magistrate, so oft as publique safegarde did so require. The Israelites of all ages did alwaies fight for their Iudges, for their Kings and other Magistrates, and likewise did all other people vpon good aduise taken: and on the other side, so did the Princes for the people, such hath beene the force of the reciproock and mutuall loue and dutie, such hath beene the zealous and godly naturalnesse in citties, kingdomes, & common-wealths, betweene Kings, Princes, Iudges and gouernours, and their naturall and good louing subiects. Taxes and tributes and other payments of the like nature, as learned writers, and reuerend authors do teach, are due to Magistrates as the hire of their labours, and as it were (as before was noted out of *Ulpian*) the sinewes of publique tranquillitie and common-wealth, for *who goeth to warre on his owne proper costs*, every man liueth by that labour wherein he is occupied. The Prince taketh paines in gouerning the common-weale and preserving it in peace, he neglecteth his owne priuate & household businesse whereby he should liue and prouide for himselfe and his familie, by looking and attending on his countrie affaires. It were against reason therefore but that he should be maintained vpon the publique treasure and cost of his countrie. It is most requisite also that kingdomes and common-wealths should be sufficiently provided and furnished with money and substance to helpe in distresses, as in warres especially, in famine, dearth, and other such like common calamities, besides maintaining of Ministers of lawes and iustice for the iust government and deciding of controversies amongst subiects, as Iudges, Sergeants, and such like: and at one word, to be briefe, there is such great wants of so many things in the well ordering of a common-wealth, that vnlesse money be still at hand in a readinesse, there can no

kingdome nor common-weale stand long in any good order. They therefore that murmur, grudge, and deny & withdraw other to deny the payments of tribute, go the next way to worke to subuert & ouerthrow the common-weale, and to bring all to naught. But what shall we here say of such a kind of subiects, as in the sight of the world in their corne, cattle, sheepe and other goods, are deemed worth two or three hundred pounds, yea that will not stick if he can here of a good purchase of land to giue two or three hundred pounds for a peece of land, and as much to the marriage of his daughter, and will crack that he hath an hundred pound to bestow on his enemy at lawe, if he crosse his mind and will not suffer him to haue his wil in euery thing that he desireth, and yet so soone as the Kings commission cometh forth for subsidies and taxes, this man forsooth stoopeth very lowe then, and wil be worth no more at the valuation to the king then ten pound, & fore against his heart it is that he is tendered so far: & besides this he must haue bearing money (as they call it in some countreies) that is, he must haue of his poore neighbours each one somewhat to helpe him to beare out this great charge and burthen of subsidies, & if they refuse he will crack them to make them subsidie men, to put them into the subsidie booke with him, and therefore they were better to beare him out, then to be brought in themselves to a farre greater charges then he requires at their hands. What shall we say to this kinde of men, doth this man rightly *Giue to Caesar that is Caesars*. Let a godly learned Doctor of Diuinitie, sometimes a zealous preaching Bishop in England, & afterwards a martyr (so zealous of maintaining Gods truth, that he most willingly and cheerefully gaue his body to be burned at a stake, and his hearts blood in miraculous manner, euen to the quenching of the fire burning the lower parts of his body to be shed,) come forth and answer this sort of subiects, and he will in plaine termes tell them that they are very theeves, that thus they robbe their king of his due debt that he ought to haue, and that they might with as good a conscience take another mans garments

A question
necessarie
to be con-
sidered on
and looked
vnto in
these our
dayes.

W. M. C.
-qv vddnd
idatd no
7. 1. 1. 1.

Maister H.
Latimer,
sometime
Bishop of
Worcester.

ments off his back, as so vniustly take and with-hold from the king that which the Parliament, the highest court in the land hath giuen to the King, and that it is due debt, and that vpon the perill of their soules they are bound to pay it. And this man of God will further tell them, that if the king should require an vniust request, yet they are bound to pay it, and not to resist nor rebell against the King, and that the King shall be in perill of his soule for asking of an vniust request, and God will in his due time reckon with him for it: but in the meane while the subiect must obey the King, and not take vpon him to iudge him: God is the Kings Iudge, and doubtlesse will greuously punish him if he do any thing vnrightheously. But the subiect must pray for his King and pay him his dutie, and disobey him not. And know this, that whensoever there is any vniust exaction laide vpon him, it is a plague and a punishment for his sinnes, as are hunger, dearth, pestilence, and such other punishments of God. And vnto this sound doctrine, in this case subscribeth also Doctor *Adartin Luther* in these words: *Whether Kings, rulers, magistrates and officers, vse and exercise their rule and authoritie well or ill, we must haue regarde onely to their power and office, for their power and authoritie is good, in as much as it is ordeined and instituted of God. Neither is there any cause why thou shouldest finde fault with power, if at any time thou be oppressed with tyrants: for whereas they abuse the power giuen them of God, they shall surely be compelled to giue an account thereof, the abuse of a thing doth not make that thing euill which is in it selfe good. A chaine of Golde is good, neither is it therefore made worse, for that an harlot weareth it about her neck, or if one should put out thine eye with it, is the fault therefore in the chaine? In like maner, the power of the Prince must be borne, for if he abuse his office, he is not to be counted as no Prince, neither belongeth it to the subiect to reuenge or to punish it in him. The subiect must obey him for Gods cause onely, for he representeth the place of God: how greuous things so euer therefore Magistrates shall exact, the subiect for Gods cause must beare them all, and obey them, so farre forth as they be not contrary to Gods commandements. If they do iustly or vniustly in any time it shall appeare. Wherefore if by substance,*

D. Martin
Luther vp-
on Math.
22.21.

body or life, and whatsoever thou hast should be taken from thee by the Magistrate, thou maist say thus: I willingly yeeld them unto you, and acknowledge you for ruler ouer me, I will obey you, but whether you vse your power and authoritie well or ill, see you to that. Such as this was the doctrine of S. Ambrose cited by B. Jewell in his defence of the Apologie of the Church of England. If the Prince (saith he) happen to be wicked, or crish, or burthenous, we teach with S. Ambrose, *Arma nostra sunt lacrye & Lachryma*; Teares and prayers be our weapons. This doctrine doth our now most gracious Soueraigne King JAMES at large set downe in that his treatise of *The true Lawe of free Monarchies*.

Beholde and see here now O you murmurers, grudgers, deniers, or cunning patching peece-payers of Tributes and other royall customes, in this parcell of this present Looking glasse you may beholde and see your right and true duties; And yet moreouer and besides all this, heate and consider of both the example and doctrine of the Doctor of all truerth in whose mouth was neuer found any guile or falshood, Christ Iesus himselfe, who when he liued here on earth, both taught as before you haue heard, *Give unto Caesar, &c.* And also for this point confirmed it by his owne acte and deed, by his owne example, that it must be paide, when as with his owne hand he paide tribute and custome for himselfe and his companie, with that peece of money which Peter found in the fishes mouth. To kick against this therefore is to kick against God himselfe, against both the instructions and example of Christ Iesus, and of his blessed Apostles. And finally if you will proceede herein so faire as they did, in the end you are like to haue the like successe and end as had *Thendas & Judas* of Galilee in the dayes of the tribute, of whose shamefull fall & ouerthrow, and of them that were seduced by them writeth *Iosephus*, both in lib. 18, and in lib. 20, of his antiquities: In this world you shall make your selues the ruine of your selues and of your owne bloud, houses and families, by your deserued immature death, or els become subiect to great flauerie and thrall to someiners and strangers, according to

Jerem. 28.

Gods threatening by his Prophet *Jeremie*. *Thou hast broken* (saith he) *yokes of wood, but in the steede thereof thou shalt haue yokes of Iron.* And in the world to come you shall procure vpon your selues the heauie wrath of God; and so eternall damnation for euer.

Bullinger
2. Decade
6. precept.
An other
notable
lesson for
Kings,
Princes,
&c.

But now here by the way, all Magistrates and Princes must be admonished to loue the people subiect to their charge & gouernment, to beare with them bountifully, and not to nip them with immoderate exactions: which is easily done if they themselves will be thristie, and keepe themselves moderately from riotous gluttonie and ouer-sumptuous pride. Let a good Prince consider what a sinne it is to haue his owne palace abound in riotousnesse and surfetting, while his poore subiects are tormented with famine and hunger. Let Magistrates consider that Tributes and subsidies are not the priuate goods of them in authoritie, but the publique substance of the whole common-weale. God hateth pilfers and robbers, God abhorreth immoderate exactions, God cusseth polling tyrants, but blesteth profitable and moderate magistrates. Both in peace and warres, agreement and concord are much more auailable then money vniustly gotten: and stronger is that kingdome, and firmer that common-weale which is vpheld by the loue and agreement of the Prince & communaltie, although the common treasure there be very small, then that countrie or citie which hath innumerable riches heaped vp together and wringe out of poore subiects entiailes, when as continuall grudge and ill will makes the Prince and people at continuall variance. And what counsell in all the world may more aptly, fully and effectually be applyed and vsed in this case then that which our most renowned *Soueraigne King James* commended to his dearest sonne *Henry* our Prince, that his liberality should not decline to prodigality, and that aboue all he should not enrich himselfe with exactions vpon his subiects, but thinke that the riches of his people were the best treasure: and in case the necessity of warres or any other extraordinary should compell him to take subsidies, yet to do it very seldom,

Of mutual
loue and
agreement
betweene
Prince and
people.

In his instructions
to Prince
Henry his
sonne, l. 2.

employing it only to that it was ordeined for, and to vse himselfe in that case *a fidus depositarius* to his people. Thus much hitherto plainly as I could, haue I laide downe before all loyall subiects eyes, what is to be yeelded and giuen to *Cesar*, for this fift point concerning tribute, subsidies, taxes, and such like royall customes and duties.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the abstaining from taking in hand or inter-
medaling with any part of the Magistrates office.



Emingius in his *Euchiridion theologicum* reckoning vp all those duties which subiects ought to performe and obserue towards higher powers and lawfull Magistrates, maketh this one among the rest. *Non irrumperet in partes officij magistratus, sed magistratus cognitionem deferre, si quid ad reipublica salutem pertinere videretur*: that is to say, It is not falling nor fit for a subiect to thrust himselfe into any part of a magistrates office, but to tell it to the magistrate and to make him acquainted with it if any thing seeme to be for the safety of the common weale. For the better vnderstanding of this duty, subiects must learne and note that all the people in a common wealth in any kingdom, country, or citie may be sorted into three seuerall kinds of people, and there is none but they appertaine and belong to one of those three, and those are first Emperours, Kings and Princes within their seuerall empires, kingdoms, and iurisdictions: secondly subordinate or subalternall magistrates who haue and hold their commissions and authorities from the first: and thirdly private subiects which are to be ruled and governed by the first and second sorts of men, hauing no publike charge nor office to attend vpon but onely each of them his owne private busines according as his owne place, function, and calling requireth. So then here

Private men may not intermeddle nor take vpon them the office of the magistrates without a lawfull calling.

The people of euery kingdom, county, trier or city, may be diuided into three sorts.

Two things to be considered vnder this sixt dutie of subiects to Caesar.

The reuenge for iniuries to whom it belongeth properly.

you see the difference betweene the prince, the magistrate, and the priuate man: Now this sixt duty which here is to be entreated of, concerneth neither the first nor the second kind of men, but only the third, which is the priuate man or common subiect without any lawfull calling to any authority or office: this last kinde of men may not intrude themselves without any lawfull calling into any manner of action or office that of right belongeth vnto the lawfull magistrate for that is not to *Giue vnto Caesar that which is Caesars*, but rather to take and vsurpe that which is *Caesars* vnto his owne selfe. Vnder this duty are conteyned especially two things, whereof the first is, that moderation which all priuate persons ought to obserue in publique affaires, namely that they may not of their owne motion without any calling busie themselves in publike affaires, nor intermeddle in the gouernment nor reformation of them, nor take vpon them rashlie any part of the Magistrates office, nor attempt any publike thing. If they espie any fault in the common policie that needeth amendment, they must not stirre at all therein, nor take to themselves authority to redresse it, or once vncalled to put to their helping hand, hauing their hands in that respect as it were bound behinde them: but they are to shew it to the superiour, who onely hath his hands loose to dispose and order publique matters; and if the superiour do then commaund them and giue them libertie and authoritie to deale therein, they may put it in execution, as being furnished with publike authoritie. The second thing contained in this sixt duty, is the casting off, or laying away all vindictiue resolutions, all taking vp of reuenge for a mans owne proper iniurie is here forbidden, for the reuenge for iniuries receiued, or any wrong committed against any priuate person belongeth properly to God, who saith, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay: &c.* to the Magistrates Gods deputies, to whome God hath committed the sword, not for nought, but to be Gods minister, to take vengeance on them that do euill, that offend by doing wrongs and iniuries to others; in this case then, when any priuate person takes vpon him to reuenge and

and requite an open iniurie done to himselfe, he giueth not vnto *Cesar* that which is *Cesars*, but by reuenging with his owne hand, he forgetteth a loyall subiects dutie, and committeth a manifest wrong against the King and his Magistrates, by vsurping their office vnto whom only the sworde belongeth for reuenging of all iniuries committed against any of his people. So that to conclude in few words, this fixt dutie of a loyall subiect, it is, that priuate men may not attempt any publique Magistrates office without a lawfull commission, or calling, neither to reforme any thing amisse, nor to doe any good in the common-weale, nor yet to reuenge himselfe against his aduersarie for any receiued wrong, for vengeance is to be committed only to God and to the higher powers, to whom only it doth by right appertaine.

TO THE CHRISTIAN reading Subiect.

I*T is not to be doubted, nay there is nothing more sure (good Christian subiect) then that Sathan as he hath beene vsed to do euer of old, so he will still hold on, and busie himselfe to withdraw thee from the regarde of some, or of euery of these my before handled loyall subiects duties, and to trumpe in thy way by casting before thee many stumbling blocks, and causes of vndutifulnesse, thereby to cause thee to forget, or else to neglect, and omit these before noted fixe duties. Of the which causes of vndutifulnesse by that our mortall and deadly foe, very much and oftentimes suggested and urged, I haue thought it good for thy learning and warning, to giue thee heere a taste of fixe of the in this little Pamphlet following, whereby thou maiest take a scantling of the residue, and so be thereby the better awaked and more excited, to beware of them all in time.*

W.W.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Pride, being the first cause of the vnderfulnesse of subjects.

The cause
of the fall
of Angels.



Pride
wherein it
consisteth.

Pro. 13.
10.

He most writers do agree and consent, and the grearest and most reasons may be alleaged, that the first and chiefest cause of the fall and vnderfulnesse of some of Gods most glorious angels, whereby they lost their glorious state and so became terrible and most ougly deuils, was pride, whereby they being but creatures began to rebell and to exalt themselves against God their creator. Now the subtil, crafty, cozening, enuious deuill, being become a mortall enemy to mans welfare and blessed state, hauing experience in himselfe that pride was a chiefe cause of his owne fall, he cealeth not to vse the same as an engine or weapon for the ouerthrowing of mortall men in this world, euen to blow them vp with pride, as it were with Gun-powder, for as wee see it come to passe, when the enemies lay siege to win or beate downe castles, walles, and the strongest holds, amongst their batteries, forces of shot, and other stratagems and feats of warre, they vse this also as their surest remedie and pollicie, to vndermine them and blowe them vp with traines of Gun-powder: Euen so likewise is it the deuise and pollicie of Satan, among his other traines, to attempt, assault, and blow vp men with pride as it were with Gun-powder. Now this pride consisteth in the great loue and liking of our owne selues, of our owne excellencie & worthinesse, & a disdainfull contempt, and despising of others in comparison of our selues. A fitte instrument is this then for Sathan to worke with in this case: for as the wisdom of God doth teach by *Salomon*; *Onely by pride doth man make contention*: which commeth to passe when

when as euery man contendeth to haue the preheminence and will not giue place vnto another. So that that man which hath his heart once infected and poysoned through pride, he can in no wise brooke it to be at commaund, and to submit himselfe willingly (according to Gods ordinance and appoyntment) to the obedience of magistrates, rulers, and gouernours, be they neuer so well worthy of the place.

Herehence it oftentimes cometh to passe that Dukes, Earles, Lords, Knights and such like being once possessed with this pride, vpon neuer so light occasions, ray rather taking offences, then tarying vntill offences be iustly giuen, will contemne, disdaine, and vnreuerently and dishonorable vfe, yea and oftentimes also conspire against, take vp armes, and seeke the life and bloud, or at leastwise the deposing of the Lords anointed, their supreme heads, ordeined and placed in such roomes by God himselfe: and herehence likewise it falleth out, that many priuate persons among the common people will not stick to vilipend, disdaine and contemptuously to abuse the inferiour subordinate magistrates, thinking themselves in the pride of their owne hearts, farre better men & more worthy to command and rule, then to be by others (whom they thinke to be worse men then themselves) commaunded and ruled.

It is the manner of fishers who vse to take fish with standing nets in running waters, that looke where they choose a fit place to plant their net in, there round about their net, will they first blunder and muddle the waters, so that thereby their net cannot easily be scene by the fish, then will they goe somewhat higher into the river and with their long poulleringe stauers will they beate and dash in the streame and driue downe the fish towardes their net, into the which the silly deceaued fish soone shooteth it selfe, and so at vnwares is insnared, by reason that the net could not be scene, the water about it being before thickened and blundered by sayeing vp of the muddle.

Pride and haughtinesse of stomack in great measure what work they make.

The deuilles craft and subtilty to insnare men through pride and to bring them thereby to conspuracie & rebellion, described by a similitude of a fisher: blinding & deceiuing the poore fishes.

Even this is the case of many subiects in the worlde,

A caveat.

The cunning crafty deuill is the fisher, he sets the net of disobedience to magistrates within the circuite and walke of such as he meanes to catch therein, then he blindes their hearts with pride, so that they therewith hauing their senses and reason darkened, rush forward headlong, the deuill forcing them on a pace in their madde moode, into the nett, which they slye soules neuer perceiue nor consider of till they be surely snared past all helpe of retyring back againe and so are they cast away ere they be aware. O subiects, subiects, of what estate soeuer you be, noble or ignoble, high or low, rich or poore, looke to it in time, beware of this net, take heed of this pride the deuills owne engine: To handle euery particuler poynt of pride would make a larger discourse then here now I purpose, let this suffice therfore for so much concerning pride being the first cause of vndutifulnes, as it doth or may preiudice loyall subiects duties to higher powers.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Ambition, the second cause of vndutifulnesse of subiects.

Hugo Victorinus li. 1
de anima.



Nauncient Latine christian diuine hath written, that *Pride* riding in a coach, hath her coach drawn with foure horses, the forehorse is *Ambition*, the second *Vain-glory*, the third *Contempt*, and the fourth *Disobedience*. *Ambition* therefore an attending seruaunt on dame *Pride* may

What ambition is.

I not vnaptly here set downe in degree next vnto *Pride* for the second cause of subiects vndutifulnes: And this ambition may well be defined to be a most vehement, strong, disordered and an vnreasonable desire of glory, an insatiable & anynbrideled greedines to rule: It is a vice of excesse fighting full, but against modesty which is a part of temperance, for a modest man (as *Aristotle* saith) desireth honor as he ought

ought, and as becommeth him, but he that desireth otherwise then he ought by vnlawfull meanes is ambitious and caried away with a perrurbation of intemperance. Of such as these there are many examples (which may serue to instruct and warne loyall subiects) both in sacred and prophane histories, amongst whom commeth here to my remembrance the notable story of *Korah* that seditious headed and ambitious minded Isralite, whose rebellio *Moses* at large setteth down, with his bad successe, and strange punishment: In which ambitious man, (like as it commonly falleth out with all such as are infected with that vice) there was first a malecontentment of mind, who not contented with that honor, calling, and office wherein he was placed, raised vp disquietnesse, disturbance and tumults among the people: Secondly there was in him an enuious affection, whereby he disdeined that *Moses* and *Aron* should haue any power ouer him. Thirdly like vnto our vile *Anabaptistes*, he went about to suppressse gouernment and magistracie and would haue all the people to be of equall authority, power and condition, which is the confusion of all states of people. Fourthly he raysed vp open sedition and rebellion among the people against gouernors appointed of God. Fifthly he went about to haue brought the high priesthood from *Aron* vnto himselfe although he found fault with others for the same. Full of the like ambitious humours was also *Absolon* sonne of king *Dauid*, of whome I surcease to speake heere, because I haue described him somewhat at large before in the first chapter concerning *Obedience*, whither I referre the reader, and vnto the second booke of *Samuel* where he may haue his history at the full. Let all loyall true meaning subiects in time beware that they do not in any wise yeeld vnto this pestiferous humor of ambition then the which there cannot lightly be a greater enemy to all bounde duties of good subiects. Looke into and consider but a while either auncient or later Chronicles and histories and see where there euer was any great plagues, any subuersions and ouerthrowes, of either flourishing monarchies, common wealths, or cities, but they were

Who is ambitious.

Num. 16. 1.

2. 3. &c.

Psal. 106.

16. 17.

The great
fallies and
ouer-
throwes
that ambi-
tion hath
brought
vpon ma-
ny.

wrought by ambitious men, refusing dutifull submission to higher powers, and desirous to commaund and to be preferred before others. Who but ambitious men are wont to kindle and stir vp the fire of domestickall diuisions, ciuill warres, and dissensions, making no reckoning and taking no thought what will be the issue of such damnable enterprizes, so they might make away to effect their owne deuised platformes. What did procure the ruine of *Gracia* flourishing in armes and sciences? *Ambition*. What wrought the decay and confusion of the common wealths of the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* the one being maisters of the Sea & the other of the Land? *Ambition*. What stirred vp *Cesar* and *Pompey*, *Marinus* and *Sylla*, *Octavius*, *Antonius* & *Lepidius* by force of armes to put their countrie to sword and fire, and so most vnnaturally to empaire the large and great scope of the *Roman* Empire? *Ambition*. What hath drawen some men to such desperate minds, so farre to abandon both God and all goodnesse as to geue ouer themselves to Necromancie and to contract and enter into couenants with the deuill that they might come to soueraigne power and authority? *Ambition*. What caused *Henry* the fift the Emperour, by force to deprive his father from the Empire, and to keepe him in prison till he died there? *Ambition*. *Maufroy* the prince of *Tarentum*, what moued him to strangle his owne father *Frederick* the emperour, and to poyson *Conradus* his owne brother? what forced *Antonius* sonne to the Emperour *Seuerus* to stabbe his brother *Geta* with a Dagger? What caused *Solyman* king of the *Turkes* to strangle his owne sonne *Sultan Mustapha*? What moueth many to put innocents to death that stand in states expectant of kingdomes, that themselves may take surer footing as they thinke to growe vp and continue in royall places? What is and hath beene the cause of these and many other such satanicall and most impious and horrible actions? *Ambition*. *Ambition*, I say *Ambition*. And what should I further weary my selfe and weary the reader, spend my time, paper, and Inke to repeate the examples, effects, fruites, and sequels

quels of this vile monster *Ambition*? Let me therefore conclude this second cause of subiects vndutifulnesse, with my before noted request, namely, that all loyall true meaning subiects in time beware that they do not in any wise yeeld vnto this pestiferous humour of *Ambition*, then the which there cannot lightly be a greater enemy to all duties of good subiects.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Enuie, the third cause of vndutifulnesse of subiects.



He third cause whereby Sathan undermineth and maineth the good and reuerent conceipt of the Soueraigne in the heart of the subiect, is Enuie, the roote whereof is fetched out of the deuills owne garden, for from him came and sprong forth the originall and beginning thereof, who in the beginning so enuied the welfare and prosperous estate of man, that he sought not only to seperate him from that pleasaunt abode in Eden, the pleasauntest place on the earth, but also to alienate him from Gods saueur, and by that meanes to expell him from all happinesse, and to plunge both him and all his offspring into eternall miserie.

Whence Enuie first springeth.

Through this enuie it is that one man griueth at an other mans well doinge and prosperity, whosoever is once attached herewith, straight-waye he murmureth and grudgeth, he chafeth, fretteth and fumeth that any man should be aduanced to any honour, dignity, office or high authoritye besides himselfe, inuenting, imagining, and deuising which way and how to disgrace, hurte, disquiet, crosse, and remooue him that so is preferred.

The fruits of Enuie.

The enuious man languisheth & pineth to see his neighbour

promo-

promoted and prosper, as saith the Poet *Horace*:

Inuidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis.

The man that enuie doth possesse, doth pine and fall away,
At others wealth and good successe, encreasing euery day.

Such a waister and consumer is this enuie, that for the correspondence therof with these things, auncient writers both Latine and Greeke haue compared and lykened it to the

What
things en-
uie is very
aply com-
pared vnto.

Worme that consumeth old soft timber,

Moaths that eate and wast wollen cloth:

Rust that corrupteth and cankereth away yron.

Vipers yong ones that eate out their dammes bellies before they be brought forth into the light. These viperous generations of enuious creatures are likewise resembled to the swelling toad which (as some report) cannot abide the smell of Iarmaunder, euen so will these swell and disdain at vertuous and good gouernours placed by God in the midst of Gods garden, to expell and chase away such venomous toads. They are moreouer likened vnto the blind Howler, which as it is sayd, in the day time is very dimme and slowe of sight, but in the night is most quick of eyesight: Euen so whereas the vertues, graces, and good qualities of magistrates, rulers, and gouernours appeare and shew themselves manifestly to all the world in open light, as it were at the noote day, yet these enuious people see nothing nor will take any knowledge of any of those good gifts, but if through the infirmity of the flesh any of them slippe, and be tainted with any fault be it neuer so little, this can they soone espie, herein they haue *Lyncæus* his eies, then a little moate shalbe made a great mountaine, *Ex humili tumulo magnum produciunt olympum*: If they see any thing well done, they grudge at it and find fault with it, like *Simon* the Leper who blamed *Marie Magdalein* for doing of a good deed. If they see that God accept of, blesse and prosper any mans doings more then theirs, stright way they maligne him and enuie him, yea and maliciously seek his bloud, like as *Cain* did his brother *Habels*. If any man for the good seruice done for or in his countrie, be applauded vnto and haue his due honour

Other cō-
parisons
very well
befitting
the enui-
ous man.

giuen

giuen him, they ſeeke to diſgrace him, & to hold back his due from him, and to ſupplant him or keepe him vnder, like king *Saul* who could not abide the ſpeech nor remembrance of little *Dauids* te thouſand, If the kings highnes for ſome good ſer-
 uice, or for ſome good liking, or for ſome other ſecret pur-
 poſe better knowen vnto himſelfe then to theſe men, do ho-
 norably beſtow any gift or preferment vpon any courtiers or
 other his good ſubiect, noble or otherwiſe, o how theſe enui-
 ous murmurers will mutter, grudge, & ſpeake againſt that, like
 vnto thoſe whining & malecontented labourers which could
 not abide any equall reward to be giuen vnto their fellow la-
 bourers: & like vnto that enuious, vnkind & vnaturall bro-
 ther that was angrie with his father and would not come in-
 to the houſe although faire entreated, and that becauſe he
 maligned and enuied that his father ſhould giue his yonger
 brother a kind and a naturall fatherlike entertainment, after
 his returne from going aſtray: Euen ſo this enuious broode
 and ill willie kind of men, will change the copy of their
 countenaunces, murmure, grudge, giue out hard ſpeeches e-
 uen againſt their ſupreme Soueraigne, if he take to heart,
 giue fauourable and gracious entertainment to any other
 then themſelues or other of their owne crue and faction
 whom it ſhall pleaſe them to allow and thinke well of.
 There is neither king nor keiſar, the higheſt magiſtrate nor
 the inferior ſubordinate magiſtrate, who either by birth,
 right, ſucceſſion, or by their vertuous and good deſert, haue
 beene aduanced and exalted to any manner of honor and
 dignity in the common wealth, but enuie poſſeſſing the vi-
 rulent heart and bitter tongues of this inſatuated crue, they
 will not ſtick to breake out into ſlaunderous and malicious
 miſreports, and to barke at the beards of thoſe to whom in al
 humble, reuerent, and dutifull maner they ought to ſubmit
 themſelues. Let all loyall ſubiects therefore take heede, a-
 uoide, and ſhun from Enuie this third cauſe of ſubiects vn-
 dutifulnes, and according to S. Paul his exhortation. Do all
 things without murmurings & reasonings that they may be
 blameles & pure, and the ſonnes of God without rebuke in the
 middeſt of a naughty and crooked nation.

1. Sam. 18.

7.

Mat. 20.

Luk. 15.

Phil. 2.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Lack of subjects wisdome and knowledge, the fourth cause of their vndutifulnesse.



He fourth way by which sathan seeketh to abuse subjects and to inueigle and entise them to abuse and make lesse account and reckoning of higher powers and magistracie then they should, and to grow more vntowardly and contemptuous in their bounden duties then be-

The great inconueni-
ences of
want of
wisdome,
and know-
ledge.

commeth dutifull subjects for to be, is lack of wisdome and knowledge, for through the one, that is through lack of wisdome, subjects become altogether vnable to iudge and discern of princes pretenses and pollicies, & so both rashly & foolishly take vpon them like *Sus Minervam* to censure, controull and condemne the actions and proceedings of their princes, through the other, that is lack of knowledge, they become vndutifull and disobedient to the lawes, ordinances, iniunctions, acts, and statutes of the king and his magistrates and officers vnder whom they liue. Kings, Princes, and gouernours do vse oftentimes for diuerse causes to disguise their purposes with pretenses and colours of other matters, so that the end of their drifts and secret purposes are not right seene into nor vnderstood at the first, this to be lawfull the word of God doth not deny.

Princes
procee-
dings, pol-
licies and
purposes
not to be
condem-
ned, nor
misconfe-
red.

To make construction of intents, and as yet vnknown meanings of princes in any ill part falleth not for subjects, but rather to interpret them in the best maner, and take them in the best part. Every creature is not acquainted with the mind of his creator, nor every subject of his gouernour: so the Lord saith *Iob*, *giueth not account of all his matters*, and so in some respect it may likewise be said of princes, that they giue no accounts of their matters to all their subjects. King *Salomon* pretended to diuide the

1. King 3.

quick

quick child betweene the two harlots and did not, what if any foolish husie subiect or seruant had stept in to haue taken exception against *Salomons* commaundement of diuiding the infant, surely it had argued a foolish want of discretion and a lawlesse vndutifullnesse to haue interrupted the kings attempt, wherein did lurke almost manifest reuellation of king *Salomons* exceeding gift of wisdom. *Iehu* pretended that he would serue *Baal*, much more then euer did *Ahab*, but he did it not, but by this subtilty destroyed all the seruants of *Baal*. *Constantius* the Emperour pretended that as many as would offer sacrifice vnto Idols should haue access to his royall person, dwell in his court and haue offices and great honor in the common wealth, but they that would not should both be banished the court and deprived presently of such honors as now they did enioy. But yet he did not so, but by that policie tried the true christians from Idolaters, and so tooke to them, and cast out the Idolaters, had it not beene great lack of wisdom to haue interrupted these Christian princes pretences and commaundements tending as afterward it proued to so good an end, had it not beene busie, folly and rash vndutifullnesse for any subiects, to haue meddled, taken exceptions against, exclaimed vpon, and condemned these christian pretences and pollices. Here-hence then let Christian subiects learne to beware that they fall not into vndutifullnesse through this lacke of wisdom, in not discerning the lawfullnesse, drift and end of princes affaires. And likewise let them here learne and strue to be acquainted with and to know their Princes lawes, for otherwise they must needs incur the crime of vndutifullnesse through lacke of knowledge, for how can they obey lawes which they neuer sawe, heard, nor read of, and yet can they not be excused through ignorance.

2. King. 10.

Euseb. lib. 1
chap. 11. de
vita con-

stantini
lib. 1. cap. 11.
lib. 1. cap. 11.
lib. 1. cap. 11.
lib. 1. cap. 11.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Discontentment of minde the first cause of
subiects vndutifulnesse.

Two sorts
of subiects,
troubled
with dis-
content-
ment of
minde.

He first cause of vndutifulnesse of subiects which hindereth many from performing and yeelding of those bounden duties which magistrates may iustly expect at their hands, is discontentment of mind, abounding especially in two sorts of subiects, first in the proud ambitious sort of great men in the world, secondly in the wicked and wilfull needy sort of inferiour subiects: of the first hath bin spoken in the first and second chapters; for the second when they haue rashly, inconsideratly, prodigally and lewdly wasted and consumed their patrimony, their landes, and goods, when all is gone and nothing left, then in their discontented moods, with blasphemous and horrible oathes they will vtter and maintaine diuerse vnseemely, vncouth, vngodly, vndutifull & disloyall positions; as that this world is vneuenly dealt, that it is no sinne to take it from these fat backes, and greasie bagges that haue it and will do no good with it, but will suffer a good fellow to starue in the streets, or hang himselfe, before they will depart from one peny; that they hope to see a day shortly when a sword and a dagger will do them as much good as the best farme, or the best plowe in the parish, that if all they haue will buye them a sword and a dagger they hope to liue as well as the richest Curmuchin of them all, and that they be good fellowes, and haue had it, and must haue it, and will haue it, for why? as some of them say *Domini est terra & plenitudo eius*, the earth is the Lords and all that therein is. These prodigall professors of irregularity, in their malecontented fitts, when they see that their companie will serue them, stick not to despise all rules of magistracie, then *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*, their tongues

tongues run voluntary, wilfully, and wittingly, scornefully, and contemptuously will they cast out words of high indignation and disdain against the reuerence and honor of higher powers: and so these wild-headed, and staring eyed creatures, these impudent and audacious spirited madcappes, must be counted forsooth men of valor, of ingenious spirits, of manly courage and martiall natures, they looke as bigge as if their faces were made of harnesse, and their hearts growen with haire like *Leonides* that most valiant and courageous *Lacedimonian*. These furious roysters and desperate cauallières, crooke in their nailes to keepe them sharpe for a day, and with their *Absolons* long locks prognosticate either a vindictiue resolution of mind, or foolish vaine heads, or *Absolon* fatal end, they want nothing but only a ring-leader, a captaine of their owne conditions, whom they may follow, or else bandes and legions, of lewdlings like themselves which would follow them, and then they would (*Sic diis placet*) cut it out for the common good of the poore comminalty, they would reforme disorders, they would redresse common-wealth matters, they would bridle and cut short the malice of magistrates, the pride and oppression of the nobility, and cut-throat landlords, the pilling and coofnage of lewde conscienceles lawyers, and stoppe the mouths of busie controuling preaching prelates, they would deuide euerie man his share, share and share like. But o insatuated, bewitched and foolishly insnared poore peasants, you discontented and malicious mates, you that are so desperate, malapart, rude and rash in all your actions, you most lavish inconsiderate and fonde vnthrifits, you prodigall wasters, of your lands, goods and patrimony, that haue plunged your selues so farr into other mens goods, or else into robberies, thefts, and murders that you can not, or dare not shew your faces to liue neighbourly in any good and well gouerned common wealth, that are alwaies ready to murmur, grudge, and mutinie against government, to belye, backbite, and slander lawfull magistrates, to controule and censure the state, to be factious, seditious and ready vpon euery light oc-

Counsaill
and directi-
ons for
vnthrists
and wast-
alls.

caſion rather taken then giuen either to begin or to follow
and comoyne with euery conspiracy, inſurrection, commo-
tion and open rebellion: will any wiſe and dutifull loyall
ſubiects thinke you meete men to performe that you boſt &
bragge of; or that which you outwardly pretend, that you
can or will reforme diſorders, & bring with you a common
wealth to others, that haue ſhewed ſuch bad preſedents be-
fore in moſt fooliſh, needles, and waſtfull ſpoyling and ou-
uerthrowing of your owne wealth? Are you like men to a-
mend other mens diſordered actions, whereas your ſelues ſu-
per abound and flow ouer with ſo many vile vices, & abho-
minable conditions. Cease in time from theſe your vnduti-
full conceits, begin the world againe, returne to better
minds and meanings, take better holde, and if you haue not
other callings lawfull and good for your ſelues and the co-
mon wealth be not aſhamed of that ordinance and com-
maund of our God in the beginning of the world *In ſudore*
uultus tui veſceris pane tuo, eate your bread in the ſweat of
your faces, for a while vntill you returne to the earth, this
couſe may perhaps ſeeme painfull and farre contrary to
your former courſes, but it ſhall proue ioyfull afterwards for
euer and euer, whereas your former deccauable couſe will
fit and pleaſe your humors for a while, but yet will proue
painfull afterwards for euer and euer.

CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the miſtaking of due & deſerued puniſhment
of malefactor, the fixt caſe of the vnkindneſſe
of ſubiects*



How much more now to be ſeeked of
the ſure and full caſe of the deſerue of
reuerent affectio & dutifull reuerence
princes, gouernours and other lawfull
magiſtrates, for which I haue ſet out
among many other diſtincts, theſe
of many ill diſpoſed ſubiects are now

Chapter 5. Of the duty of the Magistrate.
This book is dedicated unto the Magistrate for it, wherein the
manner of the due and diligent punishment of malefactors,
whiles that inconsiderate and dull disposed persons cry out
against Judges, Magistrates, and zealous iudicers, whose pro-
ceeding and purposes are bent by due severity, where de-
mence will take no place, to amend the obstinate wicked,
thinking it better upon well advised consideration, to cut off
one putrified and rotten member in time, then to suffer the
whole body to be lost by long languishing and careless neg-
ligent looseness of their duties. Against such, do these incorri-
gible felowes, the scalliers, and violent exclaimers on such
as are in authority, open their scallie mouths and that in such
sort that they can do nothing by them though never so well
advisedly and churcharily, but these busy bawling bakers will
seek either to dispute their sufficiency, or to hinder their
proceedings, or to calpe at their wisdom, or to murmur and
mutinie at their doings, or to make at their prosperity, or to
envy their state. But O ye wangling crew that are so loud in
this behalfe, know you this it is the duty of Gods depu-
ties which are the magistrates into whose hands God hath
committed the sword, to punish the ordinary wickedness
with extraordinary severity: for they are taught by the
law, that *Deus est in nobis, ut paretur ei* and the stripes
which the hands of the Lord: For as Saint
Augustine saith, *scelus est aliunde, ultio unde* *scelus*
est et est crudelis punitio: As there is a punishing mer-
cy or mercy in punishing, so there is a sparing cruelty or
cruelty in sparing, too much may destroy the whole ship.
Hail is to be shaken out of Israel. Seeing it is even thus, ye
slandrous and railing spirits, then cease you at the length
your exclamations on magistrates, cease your railing of
your praying to magistrates, cease your railing of their do-
ings, slanderous (especially before you throughly under-
stand it) politique conuenance, cease your railing, cease
your railing of state impertinence unto you, seek not your
owne revenge on them that beare the sword, by dispersing
lewd lies and contumelious reproches and reports on them.

